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Military Offers to Handpick West Bank Mayors

The newly appointed Israeli coordinator of activities in the occupied territories, Shmuel Goren, revealed June 20 that he has received instructions from the Israeli defence minister to allow Arabs in the mayoral posts in the West Bank's major cities. Palestinian nationalists insist that the dismissed mayors be returned to office first.

Goren, who did not specify if Arab mayors will be appointed or elected, conditioned his remarks by saying that the Arab mayors "should not incite, or carry out secret activities and must have the necessary qualifications." Palestinians elected nationalist slates in the 1976 West Bank municipal elections. The Israeli authorities refused to allow elections in 1980, fearing the probable return of a PLO mandate.

Nablus mayor Bassam Shaka'a, along with al-Bireh mayor Ibrahim Tawil and Ramallah mayor Karim Khalaf, was ousted from his post in March 1982 on the pretext of 'non-cooperation' with the imposed civil adminstration. The dismissal of other mayors quickly followed. Deputy mayor of Hebron Mustafa Natshe, acting mayor after the deportation of his predecessor, was the last to be ousted after the killing of a Jewish settler in Hebron May 1983. Israeli officers were appointed in their place but have not stayed long on the job: Nablus has seen three and Ramallah and al-Bireh two each.

Shaka'a called the Israeli statement an election tactic of the ruling Likud party. "The Likud wants to cover up its failure in the occupied territories so as not to give a chance for the Labour party to take advantage of the situation," Shaka'a commented. Khalaf, whose exile to Jericho was recently lifted, told *Al Fajr* that the only means to rectify the present situation is by "returning the legitimately elected mayors to their posts." Khalaf noted that otherwise "only an appointed mayor will, of course, have the specifications that the authorities want." He refused to comment about the possiblity of elections.

Natshe called the Israeli statement a "political manoeuvre." He said that the Israeli authorities have ignored existing Jordanian law — a three-person local committee should be appointed for three months until elections are prepared — by appointing Israeli mayors, extending the period from three months to one year and later postponing the period an additional year. Natshe said that the Israeli authorities have been trying to appoint Arabs to such posts but have not found anyone willing.

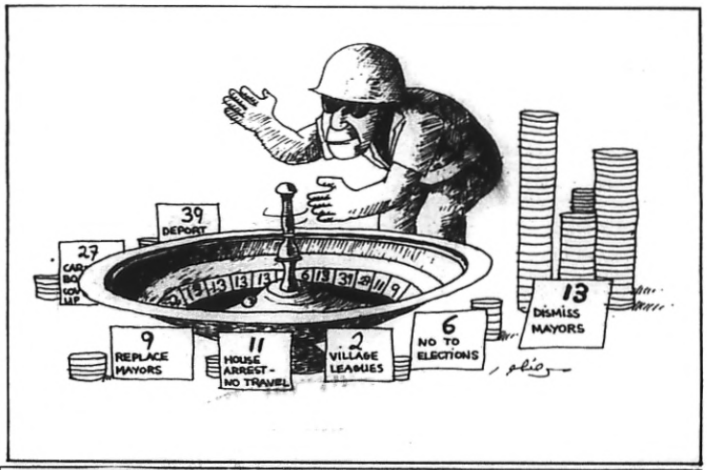
Dura mayor Mohammed Musa Amro challenged the Israeli appointments in an Israeli High Court case which is still pending.

A veteran Israeli journalist covering the occupied territories told *Al Fajr* that Goren's statements were "routine" and are repeated "every now and then."

Local Arab papers, however, took the statements seriously. *Al Fajr* daily's lead story June 26 said that the "dismissed mayors should be returned." The widest circulating Arabic daily, *Al Quds*, gave the subject its main spot June 22. The paper, which maintains a Jordanian line, said in its editorial that the proposal was "a step toward putting things in the proper perspective and correcting the erroneous situation." *Al Quds* also interviewed Bethlehem mayor Elias Freij, one of the elected mayors still in office, who applauded the statements and said that "if elections are not possible, individuals should be appointed in accordance with Jordanian law."

The nationalist opposition bi-weekly *Al Mithaq* rejected the Israeli official's statements and warned against a "planned partnership." *Al Mithaq* gave its main political comment page to the subject describing in detail the Israeli attitudes towards the Palestinian population in regards to municipal elections.

In the Gaza Strip no municipal elections were held under Israeli occupation. The Israeli appointed mayor in Gaza City, Rashad Shawwa, was also removed from office. He was replaced by an Israeli army officer.



Israeli Military Impose Town Arrest on Abu Ayash

Israeli military authorities imposed a six-month town arrest order June 22 on journalist Radwan Abu Ayash, managing editor of *Al-Awdeh* magazine. The order made vague accusations against him of activity for the PLO and "involvement in clandestine anti-state activity." He is not being formally charged.

The 35-year-old Abu Ayash, a member of the Arab Journalists Association, was summoned to Ramallah police station June 24 and handed the order, written only in Hebrew, which was signed by the commander of the Israeli army in the West Bank region, Amnon Shahak.

The town arrest confines Abu Ayash to the city limits of al-Bireh from sunrise to sunset and to his house after dark. In addition he must register at the local police station at a specific time every day.

Two weeks ago, Israeli security officers turned Abu Ayash back from the Allenby Bridge crossing point to Jordan from where he was to depart to the US for a special journalistic trip.

Abu Ayash has been a journalist for nine years. He previously worked as an editor and columnist for *Al Sha'ab* daily. He has been on the executive board of the Arab Journalists Association since 1980. He is in charge of public relations for the association.

312 for 6 in Israel - Syria POW Exchange

Israel released 291 Syrian prisoners-of-war, 21 civilians and the bodies of 70 Syrian soldiers June 28 in return for six captured Israelis and the bodies of five Israelis at the Quneitra border crossing in the Golan Heights. All soldiers were captured after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

According to the Syrian news agency SANA and the International Committee of the Red Cross representatives in Damascus, 13 of the civilians released are residents of the Israeli-occupied Syrian Golan Heights and will be allowed to return to their homes.

Four Israeli soldiers held by Palestinian factions are not included in the POW exchange deal. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command holds three and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine holds one.

Three of the Israelis released were captured May 1 after they wandered away from an Israeli liaison office in north Beirut. The other Israeli soldiers, a pilot, a tank crewman and a driver, were captured during the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

STOP PRESS

The Israeli High Court ruled at noon June 28 that both the Progressive List for Peace and the Kach movement can participate in the coming elections. The court decision, which overrules the decision of a Knesset Central Elections Committee, was not detailed. The five-judge court promised that details of the court's decision would be available within a few days (see story page 4).

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Israeli Warplanes Strafe Island off Tripoli

Israeli war planes attacked Palm Island, off the Tripoli coast, June 27. The Israeli military claims the island contained PLO naval installations.

The air raid occurred in the evening as Israeli planes made three bombing runs on the island and Tripoli. According to the Phalangist-run Voice of Lebanon radio, the first dive hit Tripoli's port, setting some installations afire. The two other raids concentrated on the island.

An Israeli military spokesperson claimed that the island was used by the PLO as a naval base from which operations against Israel were conducted.

Israeli troops reportedly closed down the ports of Sidon and Tyre on June 26, apparently in order to stop weapons smuggling into Israeli-occupied territory. Israeli military sources said only the port of Sidon was closed for security reasons and that Tyre port remained open. Local observers link the closure of the sea ports to the air raid.

Amnesty Protests Detention of Palestinians from Lebanon

Amnesty International expressed concern over the detention of 136 Palestinian prisoners from Lebanon who are being held in solitary confinement and *incommunicado* in Israeli prisons.

In a report issued in London June 18 the international human rights organisation said that the detainees are ex-Ansar prisoners who were transferred to Israel secretly before the prisoner exchange agreement with the PLO in November last year. Amnesty's report said that the prisoners were not allowed access to humanitarian organisations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, to a lawyer or to their families.

The statement said that the prisoners are being held according to an emergency regulation issued by the Israeli minister of defence on August 27, 1983 which provides for the detention of non-Israeli citizens in Israeli jails.

Amnesty had expressed dissatisfaction for denying the detainees the right to know the charge for which they are being held. (Translation: Al Shaab, Al Fajr, June 25, 1984)

Lebanese Government Reshuffles Military Command

The Lebanese government reshuffled the top command of the Lebanese army June 23 appointing General Michel Aoun to the top commanding post. He replaced outgoing General Ibrahim Tannous, who resigned his post the same day.

A six-man military council, representing the six major sects, was appointed and empowered to share decision-making with the traditionally Greek Orthodox commander-in-chief.

The Lebanese government also announced a new security plan which calls for the reunification of Beirut and the re-opening of the city's port and airport.

Phalangists' who control East Beirut expressed dissatisfaction with the new steps. Several artillery rounds fell on West Beirut as the military reshuffle took place, injuring at least 20 people.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 217, June 29, 1984:

Number of articles submitted to censors	**16**
Number of articles totally censored out	**4**
Number of articles partially censored but used	**4**
Number of articles passed	**8**

Israeli Soldier, SLA Militiamen Killed by South Lebanon Resistance

An Israeli soldier was killed and another wounded in separate attacks against Israeli troops last week. A third soldier died June 24 in hospital from wounds sustained in an attack near Kamed al-Loz in May, bringing the number of Israeli war dead to 585. Israeli troops continued to implement various security measures in an attempt to contain the daily and costly attacks.

The soldier, an officer, was killed when his patrol vehicle was hit by RPG and light arms fire north of the village of Ma'rakeh, east of Tyre. An Israeli military spokesman admitted the incident and claimed that the patrol suffered only the one casualty.

A soldier was wounded June 22 in a clash with a commando unit near the village of Amiq in the eastern sector. The spokesman claimed that two of the attackers were killed in the clash.

An Israeli unit came under Katyusha attack near the village of Ansariyeh June 22, but, according to Israeli sources, did not suffer any casualties. Israeli troops near Tyre also came under RPG fire on the same day.

June 21 an Israeli patrol was stunned by an explosion near the village of Deir Qanoun, 10 kilometres south of Sidon. There were no casualties but Israeli troops arrested 20 people from Sidon.

The Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army, which has been taking an increasingly active role in patrolling Israeli-occupied South Lebanon, came under increasing attack. Wasef Mohammed Rammal of the SLA was killed in the village of Dweir in central Lebanon when his booby-trapped car exploded.

Israeli troops dismantled an explosive charge June 24 on a road frequently used by the Israeli army, near the same village, in central Lebanon. A hand grenade was hurled at a checkpost manned by the SLA, and an SLA patrol came under light arms fire on the same day. *The Jerusalem Post*, which reported the two incidents, claimed there were no casualties.

An *Associated Press* report from Beirut June 25 said that Israeli troops shot and killed a Lebanese civilian at a checkpost near the village of Marwaniyeh, south of Tyre, as the Israeli army continues its policy of shooting at suspicious people or objects.

UNRWA Foreign Staff in Lebanon Threatened

Following recent threats to the lives of two senior international staff members in Lebanon, Director of UNRWA Affairs in Lebanon Mr John Defrates has issued a circular to his staff advising that continued agency operation in the Beirut area could be in jeopardy. The staff members who have been threatened are Mr Geoffrey Shakespeare, Field Administration Officer, and Mr Daniel Deasy, Acting Field Supply and Transport Officer. They have now left Beirut, on the advice of the United Nations Secretary-General's designated official in Lebanon.

In the circular to his staff, Mr Defrates said: "Several incidents in Beirut in recent months involving the loss of agency property and the security of international staff and their property show signs of involvement, directly or indirectly, of other staff members. In consequence," Mr Defrates continued, "we must make it clear to all staff in Beirut that international staff are assigned to field offices not only for technical and supervisory functions but also as a guarantee to the UN General Assembly of the integrity of UNRWA as a United Nations organisation.

The UNRWA director said he had been authorised by the agency's commissioner-general, Olof Rydbeck, to say that if it were necessary, for security reasons, to withdraw international staff, he would be obliged to consider suspending operations in Beirut.

The welfare of some 90,000 Palestinian refugees in the Beirut area and the continued employment of some 900 staff members there depends, among other things, on the aoility of international staff to remain and to work in Beirut without threat to their security, the staff circular pointed out. In it the UNRWA director stated: " I want it to be known that without international staff UNRWA cannot and will not operate for very long, and continued operations in Beirut ultimately depend on the willingness of international staff to serve here."

'UNRWA, United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East, has a mandate from the General Assembly to provide health, education and relief services to more than 2 million Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, Jordan, the Syrian Arab Republic, and the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. It also operates an emergency programme in South Lebanon for refugees affected by the 1982 Israeli invasion and its aftermath.

There are 255,685 registered Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. The UNRWA staff in Lebanon includes just over 2400 locally recruited area staff and 18 international staff members. Installations at which international staff are employed in Beirut include the Lebanon field office, the central Lebanon area office and the central warehouse.

Aden Meeting Ends with Agreement on PLO Political, Organisational Reform

The fourth round of the intra-Palestinian dialogue ended June 27 with the factions agreeing on political and organisational reform within the PLO. The only area of disagreement was setting the date of the next Palestine National Council (PNC) session. A last minute initiative by the Algerian and Yemenite delegations to the Aden meeting produced an agreement for a top level PLO meeting by July 5 to come up with a date to convene the PNC.

According to a June 28 press release, Fatah and the Democratic Alliance agreed on a political document, "expected to set the strategy for the PLO in the future." The statement called on the Palestinian people to support the agreement to reinforce the unity of the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in its anti-Zionist and independent national line." Radio *Monte Carlo* quoted top Fatah official Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad) as expressing satisfaction with the agreement and calling for an increase in the political and military struggle against Israel.

According to a responsible Palestinian source, Palestinian factions present in Aden, including Fatah, the Democratic and Popular Fronts, the Palestinian Communist Party and the Palestine Liberation Front, agreed that the next meeting will include the PLO's executive committee, PNC office representatives and the general secretaries of the major PLO organisations.

Independent observers viewed the agreement as a compromise solution that will help to reactivate PLO institutions which have been stalled since PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's visit to Egypt.

Journalist Appeals 8-Month Term for PLO Unity Statement

Journalist Tal'at Safadi, currently serving an eight-month sentence in Gaza prison for possessing an illegal publication, appealed through his lawyer against the heavy jail term imposed June 4. Safadi, a bookshop owner and Gaza correspondent for *Al Talia* weekly newspaper, was also fined IS100,000 for having in his possession a statement supporting a meeting of Palestinian factions in Aden. The protest was sent to the Gaza military governor.

Lawyer Felicia Langer contrasted Safadi's case to the sentencing of members of the Jewish terrorist group to a year-and-a-half in prison for the serious charges of transporting 50 explosive devices from the Golan Heights. The bombs were later planted under five Arab-owned buses in East Jerusalem but discovered before they detonated.

Israeli military court decisions cannot be appealed in higher courts. Decisions can be reviewed only by the military governor.

20 Syrians Arrested After Memorial in Golan

Israeli police jailed more than 20 Syrian Druze residents from the Israeli-occupied Syrian Golan Heights last month on charges of raising their country's flag. The residents are still in detention although no charges have been levied against them.

The arrests occurred on May 21, four days after the Syrian residents on both sides of the border held a memorial ceremony marking the fortieth day after the death of Nour al-Din Kanj Abu Saleh, a prominent Druze leader from Majdal Shams. According to some of the participants, the majority of the 15,000 Syrian Druze in the Golan took part in the ceremony near the 1974 Israel-Syria disengagement line. Delegations from the Galilee and Triangle and from the West Bank took part in the ceremony. Thousands of Syrian residents from Quneitra, which was destroyed by withdrawing Israeli forces in 1974, gathered near the fence on the other side of the border to join the ceremony.

During the ceremony, a number of speakers gave eulogies for Abu Saleh while youths on both sides of the border hoisted Syrian flags. At the end of the memorial ceremony, Golan residents from the four Israeli-occupied Druze villages made a small march and shouted anti-Israeli slogans. Four days later the 20 were rounded up.

According to their families, most of the youths are held at Acre and al-Jalameh prisons for demonstrating, inciting for demonstrations and raising Syrian flags. Three youths have confessed to throwing stones at the houses of Israeli collaborators and two others are being charged with crossing the border to Syria illegally. Golan residents have been barred from travelling to Syria since Israel declared the region annexed in 1981.

Palestinian Returnee Subject of Dutch Film

A three-man Dutch film crew arrived in Haifa June 15 to continue shooting a documentary film on the life of Palestinian artist Kamal Boullata. Award-winning Dutch director Rudolf Van den Bergen, cameraman Theo Van de Sandl and sound man Menno Evwe will stay in the area until June 28 to make a 70-minute film about the life of Jerusalem-born Boullata.

The crew has filmed the opening of Boullata's art exhibition at the *Nuzha/al-Hakawati* theatre and witnessed his first reactions to seeing friends and memorable sites after an 18-year absence. The crew with Boullata went to Gaza June 22 to meet with the family of imprisoned artist Fathi Ghabin.

According to the film director, the as yet unnamed film will deal with the Palestinian issue in a "subtle way." Van den Berg has made a number of documentaries about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The same film crew was in the area in 1979 to make *Alien's Place*, a movie that was banned by the Israeli censor until recently.

Hospital Union Demands Better Working Conditions

The Workers and Employees Union of Augusta Victoria Hospital boycotted meetings with the hospital administration last week to demand "improvement of their living conditions."

The hospital union, which represents 165 employees, issued a statement June 21 in which they stressed the importance of keeping and maintaining the hospital to serve the Palestinian refugees in the occupied territories. Demands to the administration were listed as follows:

— The payment of transportation fees and spouse and children increments;

— Complete health insurance for hospital employees and improvements in meals offered to employees;

— Repair of the headquarters of the union club;

— Changes in the handling of savings accounts.

The statement said that the administration refuses to discuss the workers' demands.

The statement clarified the attitude of workers concerning the burning of the medical theatre last April. It said: "We denounced the arsonists and appointed guards in the hospital."

Walid Abu Sharar, a union member, accused the administration of attempting to take advantage of the arson to harass hospital employees. Abu Sharar noted that Israeli intelligence men visit the hospital daily and interrogate employees, especially those known as highly religious and supporters of political parties. George Dibse, head of the hospital's surgical department, wouldn't comment on the matter. The manager of the hospital and the medical manager of the hospital were not available for comment.

Palestinian Prisoners Petition High Court on Torture at Fara'a

Three Palestinian prisoners petitioned the Israeli High Court June 19 asking it to intervene to stop acts of torture at the Fara'a prison in the Jenin district. A West Bank military court withdrew the confession of one of the defendants because of torture.

The petition, which is directed against the military commander of the West Bank and the commander of Fara'a prison, stated that harsh treatment and torture has continued in prison despite repeated assurances by the military governorate legal advisor that interrogators at the prison had been instructed not to use torture during interrogation.

Jerusalem lawyer Felicia Langer, representing Nablus resident Qais Anwar Awayed and advocate Jawad Bolous representing Tha'er Mohammed Hanani from Beit Fourik near Nablus, and Nidal Rabah, from Halhul near Hebron, complain that their defendants were maltreated after having reported pains and injuries from torture. On at least one occasion interrogators continued beating one of the prisoners instead of providing medical treatment.

Advocate Langer said in her petition that Qais Anwar Awayed had attempted to commit suicide by swallowing a key in order to escape the pain he was suffering.

Since his arrest on April 18, for disturbing public order, Qais has been harshly beaten by two interrogators known as Abu Fathi and Abu Samra and, according to Langer's petition, the interrogators hit her client on all parts of the body, especially on his genitals. After Awayed's attempted suicide he was taken to Rafidia hospital in Nablus on May 9. He was returned to prison on June 22.

Confession Withdrawn

Fifteen-year-old Nidal Rabah was arrested last March 12 and was brought to court on April 5. At that session attorney Jawad Boulous was able to convince the military court to look into the circumstances of his confession. When Nidal showed torture marks on his arms, the result of cigarette burns, the court agreed to hold a preliminary session on the circumstances of the signing of the confession. After a medical report confirmed the charges of torture, the military court agreed June 17 to disqualify the confession. According to the court's decision, "since the prosecutor could not explain the reasons for the burn marks the confession will be withdrawn because there is evidence that it was taken by force."

The third plaintiff in the case, Tha'er Hanani, arrested on June 8 on charges of "disturbing public order," complained to attorney Jawad Bolous that the interrogators in Fara'a, especially one known as Abu Jabel, caused him injury by tightning the cuffs on his legs. The military court has already ordered that he undergo medical examination. The medical report will be presented to the court later.

In her petition, Felicia Langer said that she has repeatedly complained to the Israeli authorities about torture at Fara'a but nothing has been done to stop this. Langer said that the maltreament of prisoners is due to an order by the military commander to extract confessions from prisoners and not to settle for the testimony of the prosecution witnesses.

Fara'a prison, which was opened in 1982, on the recommendation of former Israeli Chief of Staff Raphael Eitan has been a centre of torture and maltreatment. On March 4 an interrogator at Fara'a , Ghadir, was tried in Tel Aviv military court and was convicted of torturing professors at Bir Zeit and Najah universities. he was given a six month suspended sentence and fined IS15,000. Another interrogator, Moshe Biton, is being tried on charges of torturing Walid al Arda, an Arrabeh tcacher, last May.

32 Druze Arrested for Draft Resistance

In a massive campaign against army service evaders, Israeli border guards have arrested more than 32 Palestinian Druze during the past two weeks. Seventy more are still being sought by the Israeli army.

Israeli military sources reported that the detained youths, most of whom are from the village of Yarka near Acre, have been taken to induction centres in Haifa and Acre. Most will be tried before military courts. Only those who can prove their objection to military service is based on religious belief can escape trial.

Compulsory military service was imposed on Druze residents in 1956 after Israeli authorities convinced a few Druze *mukhtars* to endorse the suggestion put forth by then-Defence Minister David Ben Gurion.

Israeli Terror Suspect Captured After 3 Months

An Israeli criminal sought by police under suspicion of planning to blow up the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque was caught June 24 in a Natanya coffee shop.

Shimon Barda, who eluded police for three months, is suspected of being the ringleader of the Lifta group which was captured three months ago in possession of large arms and ammunition caches. Police believe that Barda obtained the vast quantity of arms the gang had stockpiled in a Lifta cave before the attempt on the Islamic site earlier this year. The Jerusalem district court ordered his remand June 26 for 15 days for further questioning.

According to Israeli newspapers, the police have been searching for Barda throughout the country and when he was finally discovered, backup units were called in. Barda resisted arrest. Local papers reported that Barda refuses to cooperate with the police investigators. *Al Fajr* Arabic daily reported June 27 that Barda is acting crazy, "as if he doesn't know what is going on around him."

In other news of the terror underground, the 24 settlers suspected in the major underground ring were moved to a low security prison June 24.

The suspects were taken in a police bus to the Tel Mond jail near Natanya. Tel Mond is normally reserved for young criminals while the more serious offenders are sent to Ramle prison. Tel Mond has a synagogue and a *yeshiva*.

The start of the trial has been delayed until September 16, after summer recess. The 22 defendants all entered pleas of "not guilty." Cynical speculation that a pardon for the Jewish terrorists might be forthcoming is taking definite form. Both Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak and Science Minister Yuval Ne'eman, one of the foremost advocates of the settlement movement in the cabinet, have said publicly that amnesty is "possible."

High Court to Hear Progressive List, Kach Appeals

A decision is expected from Israeli High Court by June 31 on whether the Arab-Jewish Progressive List for Peace and the racist Kach movement can participate in the coming Knesset elections scheduled for July 23. The High Court decided to hear both appeals simultaneously June 27 and widened the three-member bench to include five judges in order to decide on the Central Election Committee's right to disqualify a list on political grounds.

Defence counsel for the Arab-Jewish PLP submitted affidavits to the court by the List's top leaders pointing out their unquestionable support for the existence of the state of Israel. List co-chairman, journalist Uri Avneri, and the No 2 candidate, retired Army Reserve General Matityahu Peled, presented statements about their loyalty to the state and their service in the pre-1948 Jewish underground and the Israeli army.

In the hearing, the state prosecutor did not present any document, public or secret, indicating that the Progressive List was 'hostile to the state or threatened the security of the state.'

During the six-hour session for the PLP appellants, attorney Amnon Zichroni told the court that "while the List urges dialogue with the PLO, other lists urge dialogue with King Hussein whose government is officially at war with Israel." Zichroni argued that this doesn't mean treason as the other lists claim.

The state prosecutor told the court, "Israel must defend its democratic way of life against threats to undermine it from both the Kach and the Progressive List."

The defence lawyer for Kahana's Kach list attempted to justify to the High Court his movement's racist policies. "Racism means to consider our people chosen people, higher than any other people and to refuse to have others join us, but we call on the Arabs to become Jews like us," Kach's attorney Meir Shechter told the High Court. Shechter continued his argument by defending Kach's call for the expulsion of Arabs. "Our position regarding the expulsion of Arabs is not unique or new. We believe that the expulsion should be reciprocal. They expel Jews to us and we expel Arabs to them," Shechter said.

As to their demand for the destruction of al-Aqsa, Kach's legal representative said, "We are asking that the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque be moved 100 metres backwards (to uncover what Jews believe is the site of the first and second temple)." He said that the move is a "simple engineering operation that can be coordinated with the Arabs."

The state prosecutor demanded that the High Court adopt a 1956 High Court ruling in which the court concurred with the Election Committee's authority to ban the Palestinian nationalist *al-Ard* movement. Defence lawyers argue that the 1956 disqualification is irrelevant to their present case. Progressive List advocates argued that their list was not outlawed by the defence minister whilst *al-Ard* movement had been declared illegal by the government.

Mass rallies were held in Nazareth and Tel Aviv to protest the election banning of the PLP. Progressive list candidates are continuing with their campaign despite the Election Committee's ruling.

Left to right: Rashid Salim, a Nazareth physician, former MK Uri Avneri, lawyer Mohammed Mi'ari and retired reserve Israeli army general Matti Peled ponder the fate of their banned Knesset list, the Progressive List for Peace. A High Court ruling June 28 put the list back in the running.

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PUPPETS FOR MAYORS

Last week Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens instructed Shmuel Goren, military coordinator of activities in the occupied territories, to put Arabs back into the mayoral post in the West Bank's major cities of Nablus, Hebron, Ramallah and al-Bireh. The suggestion is to replace those mayors and councilmen elected in 1976 and dismissed in the spring of 1982.

The groove in this particular record is well-worn. It is, by far, not the first time that Israel has promoted the idea of Arab mayors to replace those it dismissed over the last two years. Whenever the political situation dictates and political pressure is exerted on the Israeli government or its tenacles, the needle stops again at putting in Arab mayors, as if it is a novel idea.

Mayors and Palestinian residents of the West Bank have witnessed two years of futile efforts by Israeli military authorities to find replacements for its mayors. Dozens of visits by the military governor to cities in the north of the West Bank to various notables never resulted in anything except a straightforward demand to return the elected mayors. Pressure on the heads of chamber of commerce offices in West Bank towns had no result in either the sphere of accepting appointment or the creation of splits in the municipal councils themselves. Invitations and military summons of prominent figures in one city led nowhere, even when the answers of these people could have been interpreted as aquiescence.

The desire of the Israeli government to settle in the heart of these two Palestinian towns has reached a peak and, whether Arabs accept the appointment or not, the Israelis need a rubber-stamp approver for the topographic change.

If the Israelis were genuinely interested on 'Arabising' the municipalities, they would return the dismissed mayors and councilmen and then open the road for genuine democratic municipal elections.

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JESSE: RUNNING ON THE 'GREAT DEMOCRAT' TICKET

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC Correspondent

In the mid-sixties Dr Martin Luther King, the Nobel Peace Prize winner, brought millions of black Americans to the streets of US cities in peaceful marches with one thing on their minds —equal rights as American citizens. The rewards were in civil rights legislation. Rev Jesse Jackson, in the mid-eighties, through his campaign for the Democratic nomination for the presidential eletions, initiated a process of enfranchisement of millions of what he called "hyphenated" Americans the outcome of which in American political life, both in the areas of domestic and foreign policy, is yet unpredictable.

Jesse Jackson, the founder of PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) and the most respected black American among his people, is a charismatic, energetic and most importantly a principled leader. He has not been willing to play the common American political game of promising rewards to diverse American communities if only they support him; rather he has taken highly valuable time to relay his messages to them. He has stuck by his positions on controversial issues such as the Middle East, South Africa, Central and South America, American Hispanics, Indians and others. Undoubtedly he has done well in the democratic primaries especially among those same "hyphenated" Americans, with another consensus clearly emerging — people without hyphens by-and-large like his ideas and plans for this country yet they somehow did not vote for him. The bottom line apparently is that this country, even after four years of Reagan's conservatism, is not ready for a black American filling the top office of this government, especially if that man is Jesse Jackson.

Jackson discussed his views on a variety of issues June 21 at the Washington foreign press centre. The following are excerpts. He affirmed US strength in the world but said that with strength goes responsibility. As such, he added, the US can provide hope and "lead with courage and integrity." During his campaign in the primaries, Jackson said he called for "justice at home and peace abroad, 'defending' human rights by one stick," and overcoming all evidence of racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination. He criticised the present administration for being overly militaristic by sending US troops to South and Central America, to the Middle East and by deploying missiles in western Europe.

The rainbow coalition, as he calls his backers of diverse ethnic, racial and religious backgrounds, believes that "peace is possible and that 'it' will work to that end." The US, he said, "must believe in developed minds, not in guided missiles, as a way to solve problems."

In Central America, he said, the problem is not one of communism but of genuine public resistance to years of oppressive governments, dictatorial regimes, tremendous poverty, lack of education and diseases. The US, he believes, can help but not through militarisation of the region. "We are a superpower," he said. "Central America is a super-culture and it is next door to us." American help can be through the use of American economic power, rather than the big stick approach.

'Source of Moral Disgrace'

During his press appearance, Jackson also touched on problems in South Africa, blaming the US government for continuation of *apartheid*. He affirmed that he will be pushing for a certain proposal with the Democratic Party during its national convention in mid-July to condition continued US contact with South Africa on that country's improving record concerning its native citizens and the rest of Africa.

Jackson said that the US can't reconcile its commitment to human and labour rights with its current partnership with South Africa. "It is a source of shame to our nation and a source of moral disgrace," he said of US cooperation with South Africa. He thus proposed that "the US shouldn't licence another American corporation to go to South Africa. Those that are there in South Africa," he said, "should have a timetable to get out." Unless a new formula is produced, according to Jackson, "enfranchisement of people equals American investment. Disenfranchisement equals disinvestment." The US, he argued, is in a way aiding South Africa to develop nuclear capability through guarenteeing loans from the World Bank.

No Compromise on Principles

Since his entry into national politics, Jesse Jackson has been a target of attacks from pro-Israel elements in the US. This treatment is basically a result of his visit to Beirut, his meeting with PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat and maybe most importantly because he has not changed his position on the Middle East.

It is hard to exaggerate the forces which Jesse Jackson can mobilise for peace in the Middle East and in the world. Those who are attacking him and the intensity of their attacks provide the best confirmation of that and of their fears of these forces. His unwillingness, it is believed, to ignore the Palestinian side to the conflict, as almost all others do, is perceived to be a threat to the pro-Israel forces, and thus the harsh criticism of his candidacy, his programme and even of him personally.

"I will never put position over principles," he said about his views on the Middle East. "The US has been wrong in not talking to PLO leadership and not being respectful of Arab leadership." He said the policy of not talking and not respecting Palestinian and Arab leadership has failed, as has the US policy of ignoring the Israeli peace camp. "We must hear the voices of members of the Knesset who cannot get a fair hearing in this country (as well as) the voices of Peace Now." American leaders, he then said, must at least feel free enough "to debate the options (for peace) here as they are debated with democracy in Israel."

Within the context of democracy, he said, he will put his platform on the Middle East, South Africa and Central America before the American people, which will be done for the first time. "And good ideas," he added, "can be crushed, but they will rise again." He has opposed the proposed move of the US embassy to Jerusalem which, he says, may hurt the chances for a peaceful settlement with the Palestinian people. The issue of the embassy, he concluded, should not be used as a litmus test for support of Israel, which is a fact. US commitment to the security of all states and peoples of the region should also be a fact.

The major opposition to Jackson's campaign for his party's nomination, black Americans say, comes from American Jewish community ranks. The schism has substantive roots deeper that Jackson's 1984 primaries and goes back to legislation on affirmative action quotas in the US to relations between Israel and South Africa, the firing of past UN Ambassador Andy Young because he met with the PLO observer at the UN, etc. The black mayor of Gary, Indiana, Hatch, said that black American power gained consistently must necessarily be at the expense of some other community, not only the American Jewish community, but American Jewry is the only one reacting with intensity to this shift of power. Jackson attracted 22 percent of those who participated in democratic party primaries. His impact on national politics and on US foreign policy cannot and should not be underestimated.

OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

The View from the Waiting Room

by a Special Correspondent

Journalists and researchers in the West Bank have told tired stories of land confiscation many times over the last few years. Even Queen Elizabeth is in the know after Crown Prince Hassan briefed her with maps and pointer on the tightening noose of settlements around Arab towns in the West Bank and the urgent priority of "saving the land" that is left in Arab hands. The political debate behind this oft-told tale has lately taken on the curiously narrow focus of 'timetables.' One position (Meron Benvenisti, some Israeli peaceniks, some Palestinian 'rejectionists') holds that it is "too late," that *de facto* annexation has taken place. Others, such as Elias Freij and similar pro-Jordanian forces, and the infamous 'Arabists' in the State Department, maintain that it is "five minutes till midnight." Still another reading here is that 'facts' are always reversible; the Sinai withdrawal has shown that politics are in command.

The point of this debate is certainly relevant, but the framework distorts the discussion. Any political solution that alters the status of the West Bank can not include a magical reversion to the Palestine of pre-occupation years, let alone to the somewhat mythologized peasant society of Palestinian memory. At the same time, a political strategy to resist the occupation cannot consist only of defining the terms of a political settlement. Some Palestinians here think the national movement may be making this mistake today.

West Bank Waiting Room

Palestinians in the West Bank have recently witnessed once again the rise and fall of the 'Jordanian option.' If nothing else, it at least provided viewers of Jordan's English-language television news with the sight of Palestinian students in the West Bank chanting slogans against King Hussein. In its broadcast of a February 12 press conference at Bir Zeit University protesting the Israeli military's closure of Bir Zeit's old campus, the editors apparently failed to notice that students were raising slogans against the Jordanian monarch rather than the Israeli occupier. Despite this diverting episode, PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat completed his second round of talks with King Hussein. Response here was restricted, for the most part, to circulating petitions. Palestinians in the occupied territories feel like they have been sitting in a waiting room since the Lebanon war. They witness many 'events' but seem to conclude that nothing of substance is happening. Whether this reflects their absence as participants or their prescience of yet another stalemate from all this bustle is not clear. Currently the stalemate interpretation prevails, as King Hussein raises high the anti-American banner and the US presidential campaign once again persuades the Arab heads of state to wait for the mythical second-term president who will break free from the clutch of vicious lobbies to make peace in the Middle East while distributing arms to his worthy Arab allies.

Here in the occupied territories, and one suspects in the Palestinian diaspora as well, internal conflicts have posed problems of strategy which may have more significance for the course of the Palestinian movement than the well-televised embraces and pronouncements of the king and the chairman. The common media assumption that the West Bank is 'pro-Arafat' is almost indisputably true. Recent student council elections, for instance, installed solidly pro-Arafat factions in power in three of four West Bank universties. But this support is not necessarily available for Arafat to draw upon like a Swiss bank account, and probably no one is more aware of this than the chairman. For example, he turned aside the appeal of the 40 Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza who travelled to Jordan during his talks with Hussein to present a petition pushing for a Jordanian mandate to "save the land," despite the fact that the delegation was hand-picked by an allied member of the PLO Executive Committee. *Al Fajr*, which supports Arafat, later printed the appeal on the front page, apparently to target the signatories, who were strikingly unrepresentative in the eyes of the community here.

Division Among Nationalists

In January, mainstream pro-Arafat mass organisations (women, students, professionals) joined in an uneasy alliance with more leftist organisations in a number of forums and statements to condemn any attempt by Jordan to present itself as an alternative to the PLO by such steps as reconstituting the king's 'rotting parliament.' These alliances are under great strain from both sides: the left would like to see a more explicit condemnation of Arafat's manoeuvers, while the right supports a more powerful mandate for the chairman and his policies. Both maintain a fitful unity, knowing that the fateful decisions to determine whether the PLO will split officially will be taken 'outside.' At the same time, the only intact part of Palestinian society on Palestinian land is where the bases of power are at stake.

The visible pro-Jordanian forces in the West Bank rest less in the organised political groups than in certain sectors of society — most notably the landlords and businessmen whose villas, partly built by 'steadfastness' funds from the Palestinian-Jordanian Joint Committee, dot the hills of West Bank towns. Their version of 'saving the land' thus has a rather personal interpretation. This does not diminish Jordan as a factor in West Bank politics. Despite significant political and economic 'delinking' with Jordan over the past 17 years, considerable economic ties, and thus political influence, still exist. In recent weeks, with the revival of the Joint Committee, Jordan has extended its patronage by easing export restrictions to the Gulf for West Bank produce and announcing 1500 new scholarships for West Bank students.

The struggle between left and right Palestinian forces has surfaced on other occasions as well, most notably when Islamic fundamentalists attacked a February 19 rally at Al Najah University commemorating the founding of the Palestinian Communist Party. The authorities then shut the university for over a month. More significant than the attack, or even the strength of the fundamentalists, is the fact that the institution itself, and all the various forces it represents, have been unable to restrain the fundamentalist and inter-student violence. In other words, the centre does not hold.

The main political division is in the ranks of the nationalist movement itself, and it is deepening. In the West Bank, a vigorous component of the nationalist movement is the Communists. Despite their prominent role, though, they have been excluded from the PLO Executive Committee. This division between left and right forces remains a bitter fact of political life here and runs through most of the institutions and political organising in the West Bank and Gaza today. Its resolution, even temporary, depends partially on outside alliances. Although national unity remains the watchword here, polarization is increasingly the reality.

Bereft of Programmes

Some political optimists here on the left posit that such a polarisation is certainly due, as the failure of the PLO's traditional consensus politics demands a new line and a new strategy. They have a point, but it can be argued that the left is equally bereft of such a programme. Indeed, the right has been the launching pad for most political initiatives lately, whether the Jordanian rapprochement or openings to the Israeli Labour Party establishment. On March 17 some Palestinians in the occupied territories participated in a forum with Israeli Labour Party 'doves' under the aegis of the International Centre for Peace in the Middle East in Tel Aviv. The Palestinians who participated were quite careful to declare that they represented only themselves and that the "PLO is our only address." The conference failed to match its rather grand conception, and one has the feeling that both sides promised more than they could deliver. Nonetheless, these initiatives are at least conscious fact-finding missions into sectors of the Israeli polity. Some left groups pioneered contact and joint activity with the Israeli left, but they have not been consistent in developing a strategic component to this activity. The reasons are understandable: not least is the left's weakened condition since 1975, with the dissolution of the Palestine National Front. The left finds itself too often in the unenviable positon of 'rejecting and condemning' political maneuvers rather than offering an alternative strategy. One problem, of course, is that the left rarely agrees amongst itself. In this regard, some people here are encouraged by the statement of four left groups, including the communists, issued in Aden in April stressing PLO unity based on the programs of the 14th and 16th National Councils.

In many ways, the task of political organisations in the occupied territories has been a double bind: they are required to do everything (mobilise the resistance to Israeli occupation) while doing nothing (because initiative and leadership remain outside). If the Palestinian national movement resolves its immediate political crisis, it will also have to fashion a more comprehensive strategy that treats the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza in a less static manner. (Excerpted from MERIP Reports, May 1984)

...They Also Shoot Camels

by Zvi Bar'el

Among the usual comments of Israeli and public figures who visit or inaugurate new settlements is the term 'empty space.' They stand on stage blessing the new settlers that have just settled there, look around and with a wide movement of the arm they say: "Look at all of this rocky ground, look at the desert, all of this is empty. Not a living soul. Yet they accuse us that we are putting up settlements in the midst of an Arab population." Similar phrases could be heard from Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori, when he inaugurated Tel Hayim settlement (in the West Bank) last week, or from Matityahu Drobles on other occasions.

Seven camels were killed — I almost wrote were murdered — in these empty spaces. One by one a Kfar Adumim resident shot them as they ate decorative plants in his hot-house. Their owners, who rushed to the spot in fear, stood by terrified when the man didn't stop shooting their camels nor even to listen to their entreaties to stop the killing. I suppose it is possible to hide again behind the claim that it was an insane act of a single person overcome by anger because his work was being destroyed. Probably, this will be the defence argument if and when he is brought to court for his action. However, beyond this, the question of 'empty spaces' is presented for examination.

The last time I visited Kfar Adumim it was explained to me by local residents that they had chosen to settle this spot for two reasons: one, the security importance of the site, located on the Jericho-Jerusalem road, and two, it was not close to any Arab population and has none of the dangers of settling within an Arab center. One of the members even declared that the second reason was more significant for him than the security issue.

However, stuck here is the difference between sensibilities of an urban person, and a Beduin or Arab villager. The former views his living space as within the limits of the street and the neighbourhood where he lives and spends his time — the line that connects his house to his working place, to the grocery store and the school — and sees all the rest as areas irrelevant to him because they are unnecessary for his daily life. At most, they serve him as recreation sites and, so, when he looks at the so-called empty areas on the West Bank, at the rocky mountains and the desert land, the sight concurs to his view and he says, "These are empty territories."

In comparison, for the Beduin or the Arab villager — those 'empty' areas are his living space. Here his sheep graze, here his camels rest, here he draws water from the desert wells and from natural springs. He distinguishes between desert and rocks, quarter by quarter. Here he would camp in summer and there he would live in winter. Up to a certain

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The conflict between religious and secular Zionists has been a closeted fight, according to Uri Avneri, writing for *HaOlam HaZeh*. It began when Ben Gurion allowed religious activists to control the Israeli educational system and has led to today's Jewish terror underground.

SETTLER TERRORISM:

KU KLUX KLAN IN THE WORLD OF 1984

Zionism and religion were from the beginning opposites — hearty enemies. The rabbis knew this. It's a fact, although the entire Israeli educational system tries to hide it — that all the famous contemporary Torah scholars fought Binyamin Ze'ev [Theodore] Herzl in slashing anger.

Herzl and his inheritors also knew this. Herzl proposed sealing the rabbis in synagogues in the Jewish state that would be established. Ze'ev Jabotinksy asked that his body be cremated. Max Nordau hated religion and Chaim Weizmann mocked it. All the Zionist forefathers considered the Jewish religion, at best, a kind of temporary substitute for nationality. The theory was that in exile the Jews had no homeland to unite them and they lacked the other signs of a true national life, like a common language. In absence of this 'cement,' religion fulfilled the need. From this derives also the self-delusion that when we have true national life, a homeland and a state, religion will disappear as a united force. Naturally it will return to be a matter only for individuals, old women and dimwits.

This is how I learned it in the Zionist school of *Eretz Israel*. When I was a child in Nahalal, there was a fallen-down hut of a synagogue for the elderly. Not one of the settlers ever visited there, the young laughed at it and boasted that any cowshed in the moshav was nicer than it.

Religion was considered in the country a relic of the past that would pass from the world within one or two generations. The most daring among the theoreticians were not satisfied with this and demanded immediate action to bury it. "Religion didn't protect the Jews in the ghetto," they said, "but religion put the Jews there. A healthy Hebrew nation in its homeland cannot rise except on the ruins of the Jewish religion, which is the enemy of national life and the enemy of life in the homeland."

This was still the majority view in the country when Ben Gurion did what he did.

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True, even before that there were compromises. Herzl, the secular journalist in enlightened Vienna, wanted at first to establish the Jewish state in Argentina and only with great hesitancy did he agree to establish it in *Eretz Israel*, which seemed to him wholely unsuitable. When he agreed, it was because he was convinced that it was possible to bring naive Jews in Eastern Europe to the country by exploiting their religious feelings.

In the framework of this compromise, he also agreed to turn the Jewish *talit* (the traditional fringed undergarment for the upper part of the body) into the national standard instead of the original seven-starred flag that he had created.

It was clear to everyone that this was only a tactical compromise intended to dull the sting of the rabbis' objection and perhaps also a way of fighting the anti-Zionist socialists. Ahad Ha'am (Gruzenberg), Burditchowsky and others wrote much about this compromise but nothing which explained the contradiction between nationalist Zionism and religion.

Neither did Herzl's inheritors. Jabotinsky hid his deep hatred for religion when he established the 'new Zionist organisation,' paying lip service only to the religious. The determined anti-religious leaders of 'working *Eretz Israel*' (kibbutz and moshav residents) made a coalition with the religious activists. However, the deep ideological contradictions remained still.

Nationality, homeland, democracy and law — on the one hand; religion, ritual, messianism — on the other; and in the middle — a gap over which there is no bridge.

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This contradiction should have come to its ultimate expression with the establishment of the state. This should have been a secular state, according to the Western style, the state that Herzl, Weizmann and Jabotinsky thought and wrote about.

A law should have been created which totally separated state and religion in a written constitution, like the American constitution.

A state should have been established with a common law, common jurisdiction, a common army and, most importantly, a common education.

Ben Gurion betrayed all these. He insisted on establishing a common army, and for that he shed blood. All the others he conceded by a cynical act when he allied with the religious activists. He sold them to the state for a pile of lentils. He sold them judgement on marital matters. He sold to them, before anything, education.

Historians will try to find an explanation for this shameful act of treason to hold up against all his positive achievements. They will claim that he tried to eliminate a fight between brothers at a decisive hour, that he wished to mobilise all the powers for the state's establishment and its success, that he wanted to secure financial resources from religious Jews, that he wanted to ease his party into power and to hold on forever.

Psychologists will find, perhaps, other explanations. They will claim that all those secular Zionists, demonstrative atheists and negators of religion were in the depths of their soul nothing but the pious in masquerade. They couldn't imagine for themselves Jewishness without Judaism (the religion). When they came to the establishment of a 'Jewish state,' they had no Jewish values but the religious values. They had no Jewish historical view but the religious conception.

When it established the state, Zionism was already empty of ideological content. It was an empty shell into which religious ideology entered.

Maybe this is the right explanation, maybe it isn't, but the fact itself is not in debate. Ben Gurion sold to the religious the one place that would define the state's future: the school.

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For 36 years now, the country has had only one educational channel — the religious one. There is a regular religious channel, called 'general.' There is an ultra-religious channel, called 'state-religious.' There is an ultra-ultra-religious channel called 'independent.' And there are all sorts of sub-channels, which are even more dreadful.

For 36 years now, there has been no education in the country that is free, secular, enlightened, humanist, that educates for healthy national life in a multinational world, for an open society, for a state in which religion is the personal matter of the individual.

The makeshift *yeshiva* erected inside the mosque compound in Joseph's Tomb, Nablus: "There is a direct line from Ben Gurion and his party's historical treason to religious education, from religious education to Gush Emunim and from the Gush to the Jewish saboteurs."

For 36 years now, every Israeli child has learned that to be a loyal Israeli is to be a Jew and that there is no Jew but a religious Jew. They learn that there is a world of values, the whole of which is religious. All the rest is emptiness, lechery, invalid — because only a religious Jew is a whole Jew, true and proud. However, the Jewish religion that dominated the religious establishment was a cadaver, exactly like the Zionist ideology.

And into that shell entered 'the Jewish brethren' — the murderous, messianic, fanatic sect.

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A researcher studying Gush Emunim said this week on television that almost all Gush Emunim heads, leaders of the settlement movement, whose names were implicated with the terror gang, are from one generation of one religious educational institution. And not by accident. There is a direct line from Ben Gurion and his party's historical treason to religious education, from religious education to Gush Emunim and from the Gush to the Jewish saboteurs.

Words expressing reservation, half-heartedly told by religious figures, are nothing but lies and hypocrisy. Truth, instead, was the man who called the terrorists — killers of the women and the children — "dear sons."

The simple truth is that the settler public and all the organised religious establishments support, overtly or covertly, the murderous underground. In their eyes, this is the true realisation of the supreme ideal: Israel's kingdom stretched from the Nile to the Euphrates; the explusion of the Arabs from *Eretz Israel* and the killing of all who dare to object; the destruction of Israeli democracy and the establishment of a *Halachaic* (religious ritual) state with the help of death squads and concentration camps; the destruction of the mosques on the Temple Mount and the construction of the Temple; Armageddon and the coming of the Messiah after the world's destruction in a nuclear age.

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The Gush Emunim people and other circles that protect and defend the underground do their best these days to put up a dense smokescreen around it. This is a screen of lies aimed at mobilising primitive nationalist public opinion for the sake of the underground.

At the top of the list of lies is the claim that these good lads took 'the law into their own hands' because the government wasn't concerned about the settlers' security and so they were forced to protect themselves, their families and their children by other means.

Whoever read *Gone with the Wind* knows this story: the defeated Southerners established their secret organisation, the Ku Klux Klan, in order to 'protect' the white women against the Negroes who fought any restriction. However, the Ku Klux Klan was not established, and did not act, for this innocent aim. It was established in order to turn the wheel back and to put over in the US the racist morals of the slave-owners who were defeated in the civil war.

Likewise, the underground: it didn't "take the law into its hands" because murder of the innocent is not a legal act. The whole claim has come in order to raise the impression that indeed the government's task is to murder stone-throwing boys, to assassinate Palestinian public leaders, to hold a massacre in the college, to bombard mosques and churches.

The Palestinian public's objection to the settlements that were planted amidst them was not unexpected. On the contrary, one of the real aims of Gush Emunim by the very establishment of these settlements is precisely to incite this resistance to worsen the situation, to cause a spiralling violence, in order to provide the necessary excuse for the expulsion of the Palestinian people from the country. By the means of slogans like "taking the law in their hands" or "protecting the women and children" it was possible, somewhat, to explain why you would shoot at stone-throwing boys and girls. The Islamic College murder is explained as revenge for the *yeshiva*

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Within the commonality of Islam, many groups exist which hold disparate views on religious practices, tactics and political goals. Said al-Ghazali surveys the groups active in the West Bank and Gaza.

An Introduction to Islamic Parties and Programmes

With the worldwide upsurge in religion, new relatively unknown Islamic groups are actively spreading their particular ideologies and perceptions of Islam among the Palestinian population in the occupied territories. Supporters of all streams are in evidence — pacifists, radicals, dogmatists, moderates, extremists, militarists, the political. Some identify themselves with a specific group while others prefer simply to say, " We are Muslims who believe *'La Ilaha illa Allah* ' " ("There is no god but God").

The groups mainly known are the Muslim Brothers movement, the *Tabligh* and *Da'wa* ('Notification and Preaching Group'), *Jihad Islami* ('The Islamic Struggle'), *Hizb Tahrir Islami* ("The Islamic Liberation Party'), *Takfir* and *Hijra movement* (literally, 'To Charge Others of Unbelief and to Emigrate Towards God'), *Salafists* (those who imitate the actions of Mohammed and his followers) and *Sufis* (those who emphasise the worship of God). The strongest group is the Muslim Brothers, which was established in Egypt in 1928 and spread to the West Bank and Jordan during the 1950's. Supporters of the various groups can easily be found in academic institutions, clubs, refugee camps, villages and towns of the occupied territories. Since the start of the Iranian revolution, these groups have begun to play a bigger role in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

In 1979 and 1980 *sheikhs* and Islamic activists made visits to local universities and urged Muslims to involve themselves in political issues. Supporters of Muslim movements grew to represent 25 percent of Bir Zeit University's students in last year's elections.

"As a matter of fact," a Ramallah *sheikh* in his early forties, known as local general adviser, told *Al Fajr*, "The political disputes and conflicts proved the failure of programmes of the national and social forces." The *sheikh*, who spoke on these themes in lectures at BZU, also said that in the absence of a military solution for the Palestinian problem, Muslim fundamentalists have found that it is possible to participate in politics and to form an Islamic political theory based on the objective of establishing an Islamic state. He briefly explained ideas in common and in conflict among Islamic groups.

Supporters of the local Islamic groups formulate their brands of ideologies from those of the founders of the Islamic movement in Egypt, Syria, India, Iran, Pakistan and other Islamic and Arab countries.

Ideas of Hassam Banna from Egypt, the founder of the Muslim Brothers movement, are popular among members of all Islamic groups, as are those of his successor, Sayed Qutub. Other cadres, such as Said Hawwa from Syria, Abu Ala Mawdodi from India, Abu al-Hassan Nadawi from Pakistan, Fathi Yakon from Lebanon and Taqi al-Din Nabahani from Jerusalem, are considered important teachers of Islamic thought.

All Islamic fundamentalist groups believe in the establishment of Islamic states, the implementation of Islamic principles and the use of the *Quran* and the *Sunna* (the actions and sayings of Mohammed) as the basis for all aspects of life. A high priority is to transform modern societies into Islamic societies modelled on the first Islamic society formed by Mohammed and his followers.

Islamic thinkers call modern societies *'Jahiliya,'* a name which was attributed to 'pre-Islamic paganism' to mean 'ignorance.' They call on Muslims to raise the principle "There is no god but God' as a political and ideological slogans to fight *Jahiliya* societies. Islamic thinkers adamantly refuse to separate state and religion and believe that the reason for all political, economic and social conflicts in the world is the absence of the Islamic state. Islamic thinkers also believe that the national, democratic, socialist and communist parties have failed to bring happiness to the inhabitants of the world and that the time has come to implement the Islamic doctrine in societies.

Islamic Fundamentalists in the Occupied Territories

Despite the more than 50 years which have passed since the establishment of the first Islamic fundamentalist group, the 'Muslim Brothers,' neither the group nor its offshoots rule in any Arab or Islamic country. The Islamic thinkers justify this incapability by saying that Arab regimes persecuted and harshly harassed the Islamic movement. Many Muslims say that these groups are lazy and ineffective against national parties. Many Muslims also believe that Islam does not legislate the establishment of any party: "There is only the party of God," they say. However, after the victory of the Iranian fundamentalist revolution, which adopted Islam, the hope of establishing Islamic states has regained strength among Muslims. Islamic student blocs emerged in all educational institutions in the occupied territories and began competing against other national forces. In the first stages of the Iranian revolution, members of the local Islamic blocs totally supported it. Later, Muslims showed an ambivalent attitude towards the revolution. Supporters of the Islamic bloc at Bir Zeit University have not yet finalised their assessments of the Iranian revolution.

Supporters of the Muslim Brothers movement, the first and the strongest group in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, now lead Islamic student blocs in universities and institutions of higher education. Supporters of other groups and independent Muslims also work within the Islamic student blocs. They are active in cultural and organisational activities and participate in the election effort. They now control the student council of Gaza University and in the past served on the Najah and Hebron student councils.

University campuses of Bir Zeit, Gaza and Najah over the last few years experienced severe clashes between members of the national student blocs and the opposing Islamic student blocs. The Islamic bloc supporters criticise the PLO as an organisation which does not serve the cause of God. Members of the Islamic Liberation Party claim that PLO leaders are "collaborators and agents" for the United States and Britain. They also believe the theory that the US has established socialist and communist parties in the Arab world to create political anarchy in the region.

Earlier this year, Israeli authorities uncovered an Islamic organisation whose members killed a settler in Hebron and burned shops, cinemas and a book distribution agency in East Jerusalem 'whose owners sell alcohol and distribute sexually provocative books and films.' Members of these groups do not associate with any of the PLO factions.

Who is a Muslim?

According to Islamic fundamentalist doctrine, the Muslim must believe that there is no god but God and that Mohammed is his messenger. The Muslim must perform the obligatory Islamic duties. Any person who openly says "I do not believe in God" is considered an unbeliever. According to the Islamic doctrine, the apostate of Islam should be killed. Any person who violates basic Islamic principles by, for example, drinking alcohol, saying that the *Quran* is outdated or deliberately misinterpreting the *Quran* is considered an unbeliever. Some fundamentalist movements such as *Takfir* and *Hijra* consider entire Arab and Islamic nations 'unbelievers' if they have not yet revolted against their apostate governors. Supporters of *Takfir* and *Hijra* also refuse to pray in mosques where unbelievers or apostates may be included in their midst.

Islamic Society and the Society of Infidelity

The Islamic movement divides the world into the countries of Islam and the infidel countries. In Islamic countries strict rules oblige Muslims to perform religious duties and the government is the religious implementer. Islamic groups consider that the laws, morals, customs, habits and educational curricula practised in Arab or Islamic countries contradict the principles of Islam and therefore the world is living under new pre-Islamic paganism, *'Jahiliya.'*

Sayed Qutub, the author of *"Guideposts on the Road"* who was sentenced to death in 1966 by Egypt's president Gamal Abd al-Nasser, said the Muslim nation is a group of people whose lives, principles, positions, perceptions, systems, values, customs and judgements are taken from the Islamic way of thinking. He concluded that such an Islamic nation no longer exists in the world and that Muslims must work to establish Islamic nations which would lead the world by implementing the principles of Islam. Qutub believes that Muslims are qualified by the Islamic doctrine to win the fight against the new *Jahiliya*.

Islamic groups consider that the laws, morals, customs, habits and educational curricula practiced in Arab or Islamic countries contradict the principles of Islam and therefore the world is living under new pre-Islamic paganism, 'Jahiliya.'

These ideas about Islamic society and goals are the broader basic principles and objectives of all Islamic groups, however they differ in their tactical programmes.

Information for the following briefs on each movement was supplied by *sheikhs* who refused to be identified and supplemented by research material.

Muslim Brotherhood Movement

The Muslim Brotherhood was established in Egypt by *Sheikh* Hassan Banna in 1928. Banna, from a religious family, formed the first nucleus of the Muslim Brothers in Ismailia in 1928. He established another centre in Cairo and soon founded many centres in most villages and towns of Egypt and formed cells in the Egyptian army. In 1948 King Farouq began a wide campaign of arrests against the Muslim Brothers and Banna was assassinated in Cairo. Hassan Hudeibi led the movement after Banna. In 1954, after an attempt to assassinate Egyptian President Abd al-Nasser, many Muslim Brothers were arrested including Hudeibi and Sayed Qutub. Hudeibi died in jail and Qutub led the movement. In 1965 a second arrest campaign was carried out in Egypt. Hundreds of Muslim Brothers were accused of membership in an Islamic organisation which allegedly planned to bring down the regime. The leaders of the movement, Sayed Qutub and Mohammed Yousef Hawash, were convicted and sentenced to death. In 1950 the Muslim Brothers spread to the West Bank and Jordan. According to some members of the group, the leadership remained in Egypt so that no separate local leadership was developed in Jordan.

The Muslim Brothers have established Islamic institutions in many areas of the West Bank to spread their philosophy among the Muslim population.

Each member of the Muslim Brothers undergoes a long period of Islamic study in a cell of five to seven members after which he is to be a 'Muslim Brother' or 'Preacher of Islam.' Politically, they did not undermine the Jordanian government and concentrated on the educational sphere. The Muslim Brothers wanted first to create the Islamic infrastructure in society (the individual and family) and then the Islamic state, with a Muslim society the eventual outcome.

"After 1967 the Muslim Brothers remained silent," said a supporter of the Muslim Brothers in al-Bireh who refused to have his name published or to say openly that he is a Muslim Brother. "After the decline of the military solution for the Palestinian cause in the late seventies, Muslim Brothers found the environment suitable for preaching Islam as a political and ideological alternative to the national forces," he added.

In Gaza, the Islamic *Mujama* Institute directs all Islamic activities and education in mosques, schools, kindergartens and the Islamic University. "The Islamic movement in Gaza is stronger than in the West Bank," a member of the local Islamic student bloc told *Al Fajr*.

Above: Women *hajaat* gather before the Dome of the Rock for Friday prayers. Below: A verse from the *Quran* in al-Thuluth calligraphy: "Say there is no God but *Allah*."

Tabligh and Da'wa: 'Notification and Preaching'

Mohammed Elias Hindi and his son Mohammed Yousef established the *Tabligh* and *Da'wa* sect in India. *Sheikh* Elias Hassan is the current leader. *Tabligh* and *Da'wa* only practises methods of preaching in mosques, markets, public places and institutions. The followers of this movement have to preach an hour per day every week or a month per year to convince people to follow the principles of Islam. Followers of this movement are found in most countries of the world. They claim that the unbeliever will be subjected to the torments of hell and the believer will enter paradise. In Palestine, they have a centre in Beit Or Tahta, in the Ramallah district. Members of this group meet weekly at the centre to arrange their preaching schedule. Supporters of this group from India, South Africa and the United States have visited the centre. Members of the Palestine branch have travelled to India and Pakistan to preach Islam and meet fellow supporters. This is probably the second largest Muslim group in the occupied territories. Supporters of this group are known locally as pacifists because they refuse to interfere in politics. They usually wear long white gowns *(jalabiyaat)*, small caps and grow beards. Like other Islamic fundamentalists, they say, "Our constitution is the *Quran* and the *Sunna* of the Prophet."

Jihad al-Islami: The Islamic Struggle

Jihad al-Islami concentrates on political activities in line with their objective of establishing the Islamic state. The Egyptian authorities uncovered the group of *Jihad al-Islami* supporters who assassinated Anwar Sadat as "a traitor of Islam." Members of this group in Lebanon have declared their responsibility for military operations against US and Israeli forces there. *Jihad al-Islami* is an offshoot of the Muslim Brothers which adopted the ideas of Hassan Banna, but criticised the Muslim Brothers in Egypt because of their good relations with parties holding state power in the Arab world. Members of *Jihad al-Islami* believe in using violence against the Arab regimes and foreign forces in Arab countries. They consider involvement in the Palestinian cause an important phase of their struggle.

Under fundamentalist Islam, women may only have their hands and faces uncovered.

Hizb Tahrir al-Islami: The Islamic Liberation Party

Hizb Tahrir al-Islami was established in 1951 by *Sheikh* Taqi al-Din Nabahani in Jerusalem. Nabahani learned *shari'a* law in Azhar University in Cairo and after graduating worked in the *shari'a* court in Jerusalem. In *Party Blocs*, one of Nabahani's published works, he criticised the methods of the Muslim Brothers: "Besides the cultural and charitable societies, ethics societies were established to give birth to the Islamic nation by preaching, lectures and bulletins. These societies wasted efforts and money."

Hizb Tahrir al-Islami is concerned with restoring confidence in Islam by providing education on the principles of Islam and by providing Muslims with political analysis of current events. Members of *Hizb Tahrir al-Islami* believe that it is possible to establish the Islamic state by imitating the actions of Mohammed. The party perceives that the Islamic state is attainable in three stages: secret preaching of Islamic culture among party cadres, submitting these ideas to society-at-large and finally calling on party supporters in the army and the government to seize power.

In the '60s the Jordanian government imprisoned members of this party. After 1967 the party decided to freeze its activities in the occupied territories because it considers the area's inhabitants as prisoners and that it is impossible to attain the third stage under Israeli occupation. A member of the party who was imprisoned by the Jordanian regime believes that the party is still working in Arab countries.

Takfir and Hijra

This movement was begun in the '60s in Egyptian jails by 'extremist' members of the Muslim Brothers. Today only a few people in Gaza support *Takfir* and *Hijra*. Members believe that any person who is not completely loyal to God is an unbeliever. They do not socialise with people outside the group. Some have even divorced their 'apostate wives and husbands.' They quote Sayed Qutub and Abu Ala Mawdodi to support their views. Last year one of their supporters in Gaza prison wrote a book about this movement.

Sufis

In 1977 a *sheikh* called Yaqoub Qirresh began to preach the *Sufi* doctrine in Jerusalem. With a few followers, he used to extend the length of prayers and praise of God at Sa'ad, Said and Hamra Mosques in Jerusalem. On certain days *Sufis* assemble in the mosque and begin their long prayers, dancing in a circle until some of them go into a trance — this is considered contact with God. *Sufis* believe that they imitate Mohammed.

Salafists

The origin of this group is the *Wahabist* movement established in Saudi Arabia in the 19th century. *Salafists*, like *Wahabists*, want to imitate Mohammed and they fight against innovation in their religion.

Islamic Bloc at Bir Zeit University

Members and supporters of the Islamic Student Bloc at Bir Zeit University — approximately 500 students this year — try to popularise Islam by organising two lectures a week, one at the university and another at the village mosque. They have occasionally arranged entertainment programmes, including Islamic theatrical skits and religious songs. The Islamic football team at Bir Zeit contributes six footballers to the separate university team. The Islamic bloc also arranges trips for women and men around the country.

Abd al-Fattah Ahmad, 22, from Khan Yunis, Islamic Bloc election candidate for secretary of the art committee, said that the bloc attracts students from all Islamic groups. The students consider the *Quran* and the *Sunna* of Mohammed as their constitution. Abd al-Fattah believes that the establishment of one Islamic state will lead to the creation of the greater Islamic state from which Muslims will start liberating the world.

The Islamic Bloc refuses to make alliances with other student blocs unless based on Islamic doctrine. "The most important book I read," Abd al-Fattah said, "is *Islam: Idea, Movement and Coup* by Fathi Yakon. The book gives a complete picture of the nature of Islam — that the *Quran* is a God-given comprehensive system for all aspects of life."

Another supporter of the Islamic Student Bloc at Bir Zeit refuses to belong to any group in the Islamic movement. He told *Al Fajr* : "I do not like the conflict between these groups."

Senior officials in the *Waqf* institute, with known pro-Jordanian sentiments, believe that the Islamic student blocs are not mature in their thinking. One official told *Al Fajr* that the student blocs are mistaken to have clashes with other students. He said, "Islam does not split, it unifies."

Al Fajr's Hebrew translator, Thoma Shick, is a veteran pacifist whose peaceful activities apparently confound Israeli police. Yossi Heiman of *Hadashot* daily wrote about Shick's most recent arrest and interrogation.

Pacifist Interrogated for Human Rights Activities

Thoma Shick is one of Tel Aviv's veteran eccentrics: 45, long hair, worn-out clothes, torn shoes and a shine in the eyes. Titles: Coordinator of International Movement of Conscientious War Resisters and Regional Secretary for the Orient-Mediterranean-Sea-Coast for the World Service Authority (which distributes world citizen passports and additional world identification certificates), an active member in another long list of humanist-humanitarian-pacifist international organisations and a devoted writer of letters-to-the-editor.

In 1983 Shick was arrested for being suspected of photographing a security device in the Tel Aviv area. Under questioning he claimed that he didn't intend at all to photograph the device. He photographed an abandoned field that he says belonged to Arab refugees who were expelled from the country in 1948. The photographs were made for the East Jerusalem Arab Studies Society which collects data about the Palestinian refugees' property. Shick is employed by this institute on a part-time basis. The security device located near the field, so he says, entered the picture only accidentally. He was released after a short time and was not brought to court. The film was confiscated. Ever since, Shick has continued, as is his custom, to travel in the streets on his bicycle and to offer his merchandise — world passports, that, by the way, are not recognised by any state and have merely symbolic significance. All the time he has had the feeling that he has been under surveillance.

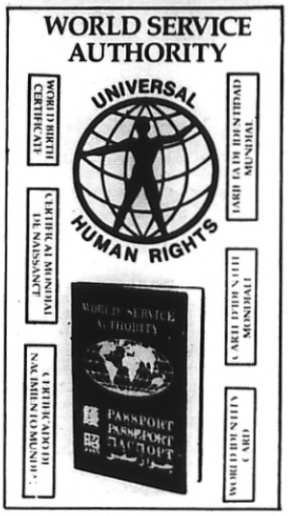
Last Thursday, June 7, Shick was questioned in the Petah Tikva police station. After he answered a long list of questions, he was released.

Thoma Shick: "I was invited to report to the registrar in the Petah Tikva police station at 2 pm. I received the invitation by phone from a woman who told me that she was from intelligence in the National Police Headquarters. I arrived exactly one minute before time. The registrar didn't know what it was about and asked a policeman who asked a third policeman. Finally they found my name in the register and phoned someone.

"After two minutes, a young man in plain clothes appeared, very polite, who said he was an investigator. He brought me to a room in the station and there we were later joined by another. He asked questions and the other recorded. After many inquiries about my wellbeing and my economic situation, I was reminded about the incident when I 'was caught on the spot photographing a military device.' I retold the whole old story, that I photographed the field and not the device for the Arab Studies Society. They wanted to know why the institute needs the photographs. I replied that they are intended as a collection of evidence about refugees' property for the time when they will be permitted to return or be given compensation. They wanted to know who financed the institute and claimed that it was 'PLO money.' I told them that I didn't know who finances the institute but I think that they are sincere people who want to help the refugees.

"After this they came to another story about an item published April '83 in *HaOlam HaZeh* weekly. This report said that I was sitting with friends in a cafe in Athens when someone approached me and expressed interest in the world passport. I offered to sell him one and he was happy about it. When he wrote down his personal data in the form, he identified himself as a PLO representative in Athens. So I issued a world passport for a PLO personality. I gave the story myself to the editors of *HaOlam HaZeh*. The investigator asked me whether it was not dangerous to give such a document to a PLO man — that they may 'use it.' I said that he would have to be an idiot to try to enter Israel with such a passport. Another subject that was brought up was my participation in the Geneva Conference on the Question of Palestine. They wanted to know what I did there. I explained that I was invited as a representative in Israel of the International Movement of Conscientious War Resisters. At the end they warned me not to take any more photographs of security devices and not to meet anymore with Palestinians." (Translation: Hadashot, June 15, 1984)

Left to right: Karim Khalaf (dismissed mayor of Ramallah), Thoma Shick, Gary Davis (president of the World Service Authority) and Mohammed Milhem (deported mayor of Halhoul) at the Ramallah municipality in January 1977 holding the emblem of the World Service Authority.



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Ku Klux Klan

student's murder. And so the attempt to blow up the buses is explained. These are abominable murder acts, but at least they are consistent with the lawful claim.

However, the lie is disclosed when you look at the main actions of the underground — those they committed and those they planned to commit. The assassination of the occupied territories' mayors has no connection to deterrence or revenge. This is political terror of the most definite sort: terrorising a whole public in order to achieve political aims. In this case the aim is to expel from the country. It is even more outstanding when referring to the action that was intended to be the grand climax: destruction of the mosques on the Temple Mount. This is a religious-political act deriving from a crazy, messianic world view that has nothing to do with 'law in their hands' and 'making families secure.' The total opposite is correct: this is an act aimed at fanning a huge conflagration that could swallow also the settlements, with their children.

This is not science fiction, neither a distant or unlikely future. This is the reality of our life, the world of 1984, the Israel of 5744. The capture of some cells of a terror-underground should not calm or deceive us. This is no severed member — if indeed it has been severed — it is only the tip of the iceberg and 100 members will grow in its place. The forgiving attitude of the authorities to these murderers is but one symptom. The boastful words of Moshe Levinger and alike are another sign. The gathering of official psychopaths like Meir Cohen Avidov, deputy-speaker of the Israeli Knesset, in unity with the underground people, is also an important sign. A particularly distressful symptom is the blatantly privileged treatment granted to the underground suspects by the investigating authorities.

The court imposed a scandalous ban on the publication of their names. Public figures who are suspected of having connections with the underground are questioned under special conditions. The detainees, among them those suspected of mass murder, are brought without handcuffs and are permitted to turn disputes over the extension of their detention into political festivals. Public admirers come to visit them in their place of detention as if it were a hotel. A newspaper published their claims in contradiction with every regulation of justice under the law. Al this is reminiscent in a terrible way of the attitude of the Weimar Republic's courts to Nazi suspects. The judges considered them not criminals but young patriots who "deviated from the road." After all, they attacked only Jews and murdered only Communists."

Maybe some mosquitoes were captured. However, the swamp that grew these mosquitoes remains.

Who will dry out this swamp? Who is able to? How? By what means? The simple truth is that before the increasing wave of the messianic, fanatic, armed, occupying, settling, sabotaging and murdering religion — there is not one protective wall. There is no counter-movement, there is no counter-ideology, there is no counter-force. And in the meantime, daily brainwashing continues and pushes the state towards an abyss.

The state television is dominated by the right-wing mafia that provides the instrument for daily propaganda for the murder groups and their partners. A national ritual is taking place around religious addicts who pass from white heroin to black fanaticism, and who are called 'repenters.' Billions of the nation's funds, our blood and sweat, are poured into the religious educational system that produces a new generation of "Jewish Brethren," of underground members, of terrorists on behalf of god, of saboteurs for the glory of Israel, exploders of children and women, of destroyers of mosques, murderers of Greenzweigs. (Emil Greenzweig was killed by a grenade thrown at a Peace Now anti-war demonstration.) There are some people who speak in silence about a "cultural battle" (*'kultur Kampf'*) This is a distorted translation of a German concept that means competition between cultures.

Culture *Kampf*? Indeed? Do we battle only for the culture of this country? We are ordained to struggle for the very existence of this state in front of the horrible danger that we shall step definitely on the road to an eternal war, a sacred war that has nothing in it of hope for peace and compromise and that cannot end but in mutual destruction.

We are ordained to struggle for the very essence of our society as a democratic, free society in which we should be able to think and speak and write as we like, in which there is a dialectic between ideas and opinions. We are struggling, bluntly, for the basic ability to live in this country without being murdered like Emil Greenzweig, without being put in a concentration camp, without emigrating. This cancer has not been operated on and has not been cured. It continues to spread in the national body. If we do not overcome it, it will consume us. We are battling for our life. This is a battle between ideologies, between political powers, between the enlightened and the close-minded. The true battle for Israel. (Translation: HaOlam Hazeh, May 30, 1984)

'Land' in the Palestinian Poem

by Ali al-Khalili

The following prose article, 'Land' in the Palestinian Poem, by Ali Khalili, a Palestinian poet and the editor of the literary Al Fajr *magazine, was read at the Palestine Cultural Week festivities in London, November 1983. The week included presentations of drama, folk music, dancing, singing, cinema, seminars and an evening of casual entertainment. Palestinian figures both in Palestine and abroad were invited to attend by the Committee for the Advancement of Arab and British Understanding, sponsors of the event. Israeli authorities prevented Khalili and other invitees from the West Bank from travelling to attend the cultural week.*

The earth is a 'mother' in the folkloric-metaphysical sense. The earth is a homeland in the political sense. And earth is life in the face of exile, expulsion, alienation and death. All these meanings converge in combination and association in the mind of the Palestinian poet when he writes a poem from the occupied territories under the restraints of occupation, siege and censorship.

The poet's writing, in fact, is a direct response to occupation. It is very well-calculated writing. It is neither mere reaction, nor is it transient enthusiasm. Consequently, a Palestinian poem is so deeply attached to the earth this attachment would reach the point of cohesion and integration. Every work is attached to the earth. The music inside the structure of the poem is attached to the earth.

Even when the poet sings to the beloved — the woman — the song employs such words and terms as: tree, rose, grass, rock, stones, soil ...etc. The conventional body of the woman is a sea, a meadow or a valley. Her tears are rain and her hair is corn silk. The action of conventional love soon develops into universal love that encompasses the earth. This love is not the outcome of coincidence. Nor is it drawn along the lines of Middle Eastern metaphors derived from the residual ancient legacy of rituals, conventions and myths. Rather, it is the challenge necessitated by the Zionist settlement occupation.

The earth is a 'mother' in the folkloric-metaphysical sense. The earth is a homeland in the political sense. And the earth is life in the face of exile, expulsion, alienation and death.

The settlement occupation is plundering the Palestinian earth. This occupation is turning the Palestinian into an expelled, homeless, exiled... or even completely dead person.

The logical answer to this hostile equation is actual resistance. Since the action is not connected with primitive violence only, it develops into deep deep love of the earth which, as we said, is the mother, the homeland and life. Consequently, it is time in its entirety: past, present and future.

As the poet, by nature, always "casts his eyes into the future" and as long as the poem is an unremitting dream, he does not embody the earth partially or as a non-living, dry condition under a heavy pile of debris. He realises his vision in interpreting this future and tracing the way to it.

Since the poet is not a political reader, an architect or a surgeon, etc, he is bound to convey his vision to the people through more or less vague language, the language of the dream itself — the language of amazement, which is set in motion by his conflict with the imaginative 'discovery' in his poem.

Indeed, the Palestinian poet, who suffers from the daily oppression of occupation, feels twice distressed by this vagueness which he himself creates for himself. He 'wishes' he could offer a clear poem for every reader. But he dashes this wish with his own hand because he is aware that the poem is not a conventional political speech or a photographic picture of the reality surrounding him.

At this particular point, the 'earth' grows through a new symbol: namely, the dream.

If the earth is a mother, a homeland and life, it becomes in the action of the poem, from the time it emerges to light and disseminates among the masses, a proliferated extension in the whole human 'time.'

At this point also, the earth, which is naturally 'Palestine,' becomes a human issue encompassing the whole world.

The Palestinian poet emerges from the 'region' to the 'continent' to the 'globe' ...to a density which, though complicated and intermingled, is quite clear, like a child's cry:

This is my usurped land
This is my usurped home
This is my usurped freedom
This is my revolution...

The Palestinian poet, under occupation, experienced unique suffering in order to fulfill this cry. The song of the 'victim' is not at all an easy one.

The 'victim' usually sighs, grumbles and is immersed in its own sorrows to the point of 'masochism,' the point of adoring its wounds and distress, the point of 'enjoyable' crying. The Palestinian poet resisted this syndrome. He tried, even at the peak of his dream, to stand up on an equal footing against his 'executioner' versus the problem of the 'victim,' as well as the whole problem of contradiction: oppressor-victim and victim-oppressor.

At this particular point, the 'earth' grows through a new symbol: namely, the dream.

The clarity of this attitude really means the clarity of the whole 'battle.'

The victim that delves deep into sorrows cannot resist. And the victim that cannot understand and be aware of and study the oppressor cannot transcend the complex of the 'fall' and the complex of the oppressor's 'perpetuation.'

The Palestinian poet has realised his awareness, understanding and study of this psychological and political dimension. The Palestinian poem was not merely a victim's 'call for help.' The oppressor or the occupation soldier is not a mere legendary 'Gorgon.'

This awareness has warded off any calamitous 'errors' from the local poem. It — this poem — has not been swayed into any conventional chauvinistic limit, reaching, sometimes, the point of being bleakly closeted by the 'element' of victimisation. The poem did not preoccupy itself with racial abuses against the 'other,' not even once.

In fact, this humane depth has placed the Palestinian poem, in general, in an advanced position in the world. Its rich content is fit for all peoples, and not only for the Palestinian people. In this regard, it is like any other great poem that has been immortalised by National Liberation revolution all over the world.

Since this humane depth itself has emerged and developed through 'the loss of the Palestinian earth,' it will be eternalised through its universality so as to 'regain the earth' which is a mother, a homeland, a life and a dream, not only on a Palestinian level, but on a human geographic level at every time and place.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

Palestinian newspapers continued their front page coverage this week of the Aden negotations between five Palestinian factions. The papers reported that agreement on major issues had been agreed upon except for setting the date of the next PNC.

The statements of Israeli occupation officials that they intend to appoint Arab mayors in the West Bank's major cities were highlighted in Al Quds and Al Fajr.

Al Sha'ab daily gave top spot two consecutive days to the latest decisions by the Lebanese government.

Unity Only Alternative

Palestinian masses received with relief the reports about the success of the Aden Palestinian dialogue. If the previous period was full of pain and fear over the threatened unity of the PLO, that was compensated for by the agreement based on the conviction that there is no alternative to unity.

Statements made by the participants in the Aden dialogue confirm that such an agreement is about to be reached. Thus, the basic step has been taken.

The participants in the Aden dialogue enjoy credibility on the Palestinian, Arab and revolutionary international levels. They are therefore qualified to fulfill the tasks that will follow the Aden agreement.

In this regard, first priority should be given to the political and organisational programme and to moving toward the future without pausing at the past, except to draw lessons.

AL TALIA
June 21

Waiting...

The Palestinian people's attention is focused on Aden where the third round of Palestinian dialogue will be resumed today.

This round will be held in the midst of optimism that a comprehensive agreement on the political and orgnisational levels will soon be reached. This will remove the confusion from the Palestinian arena and expedite convening the Palestine National Council to start a new stage of Palestinian action.

The masses of our people are waiting with hope and confidence for the outcome of the Aden dialogue. These masses demand that this dialoque result in agreement. There is no longer any room for procrastination and postponement.

The masses demand an agreement because there is no alternative to Palestinian national unity, PLO unity or to keeping the independence of the Palestinian decision.

Last year's events proved that our people would hold fast to their unity, legitimacy and institutions. The people rejected the dissidents' conspiracies and collaboration with Arab regimes. Those events confirmed the extreme necessity of closing Palestinian ranks within the elected legitimate framework to confront the growing challenge.

We are waiting to hear one sentence only: they have reached an agreement in Aden.

AL SHA'AB
June 22

How Can We Keep Silent ?

With just 30 days to go before the elections, how can we keep silent when our adversaries and rivals are beseeching one another to keep silent so that their joint scandal might not be exposed?

. The Alignment and the Likud in their propaganda campaign are threatening each other that each will uncover the other's role in the extremist, expansionist settlement policy which led Israel and its people to the abyss.

They conclude bargains to let the election campaign go without scandals.

It is no longer possible to procrastinate. For the first time in the history of Israel's wars against the Arabs, the Israeli military and policy-makers were dealt a boisterous defeat. American 'might' was also humiliated. The Arabs, especially the Palestinian friendship with the USSR, is strengthened. This means that the possibility of the Soviets throwing their weight in the Middle East has become greater. The Soviets would do that in such a way as to return Reagan, Begin, Shamir, Arens, Peres and Weizmann to their senses.

Reagan's Plan emerged from the debris of the Palestinian refugee camps and the Lebanese villages and towns so as to perpetuate the American-Israeli domination of our East. The plan occasioned the rise of such slogans as 'Everything is Over,' 'We Have Nothing Left But Rationalisation,' 'Salvaging Whatever We Could,' 'Reagan's Plan is What Remained for Us' and the like. Some voices were raised demanding an 'alternative' and 'an alternative leadership.'

It was natural that these voices would influence some national circles and provide the 'fertile soil' to sow seeds of dissension among the Palestinians and Syrians and among Palestinians themselves. We should not be surprised if these voices found no one to rely on except people like Avneri and a few young isolated Arabs in Nazareth. PLO unity has returned deeper and stronger than ever before, thus shattering the dreams of such people as Avneri and Rashid Salim of sowing dissension.

AL ITTIHAD
June 22

Avoiding Vicious Circles

Going into vicious circles, especially when fateful causes are concerned, leads us to negative results and destructive consequences.

Hence came Abu Jihad's warning against going into vicious circles, as had happened in the Palestinian dialogue meetings so far. The third round of these meetings will be resumed in Aden today. On the eve of his departure for Aden, Abu Jihad expressed hope that this third round will result in agreement between Fatah and the other Palestinian factions participating in it, on the date of convening the next Palestine National Council meeting.

In his statement, Abu Jihad pointed out that the third round of the Palestinian dialogue will be followed by an enlarged conference in which all the Palestinian organisations will participate with the aim of finding the best way to iron out the Palestinian differences and preparing the agenda for the coming PNC.

We should like, on this occasion, to call upon all the Palestinian factions to concentrate on finding points of agreement, away from external influences, that will safeguard the unity of the PLO.

We would like to ponder:

* Isn't it time for us Palestinians to realise that differences among us are a source of ridicule and sorrow?...

* Isn't it time for us to hold aloof and stay away from suspicious association with some Arab regimes which always delay the Palestinian cause through their own interests? We have so many proofs of this.

* Finally, isn't it time to safeguard our independent Palestinian decision against those who seek to hinder our march so that they may use our cause as a pretext for fulfilling their own aims?

AL FAJR
June 22

Aden: Reconciliation Begins

The attention of our Palestinian masses is once more directed to the South Yemeni capital in anticipation of the outcome of the Palestinian dialogue which resumed yesterday amid cautious optimism. The aim of the meetings is to reach a comprehensive political and organisational agreement which will reinforce Palestinian cohesion. The agreement should be based on national principles that contribute to pushing our march forward on the road towards fulfilling the aims, aspirations and interests of our people who have borne many sacrifices.

The fourth round of dialogue, expected to be the last, will keep our people apprehensively waiting, hoping to hear the historic communique mentioned recently by more than one Palestinian official.

We are also hopeful that this communique will be issued so as to rebuild Palestinian unity in such a way that it eliminates deviation and the deviators from the national Palestinian line.

Out of our keen interest in keeping this Palestinian national structure intact, we demand that this communique be signed by the quadruple alliance.

Our call stems from our conviction, derived from the conviction of the Palestinian people, that the Aden communique forms the basis and foundation, or rather the axis, of any frontal alliance in the Palestinian arena. It is also considered the regulator that prevents abuses and deviations in the Palestinian arena.

AL MITHAQ
June 23

Village Leaguers Face Sabotage, Murder Charges

Israeli police arrested Bishara Qumsieh, former head of the Israeli-backed Village League in the Bethlehem area, and his four sons, including Samir, the present League head, June 21 on criminal charges. The family, along with other Bethlehem area Leaguers, face charges including the sabotage of cars in Beit Sahour and theft of Israeli army property. The five were remanded 18 days for interrogation. According to *Hadashot* daily, Bishara Qumsieh is being questioned on 72 criminal offences, including two murder cases which took place before he became the Village League head.

Bishara, Samir, Samer, Yasir and Taysir Qumsieh were arrested by the Israeli military police less than one week after the arrest of four League members on suspicion of arsoning Arab-owned cars in Beit Sahour. One of those arrested, Qassem Khlaif, reportedly confessed to carrying out a number of sabotage acts in Beit Sahour and Bethlehem, including stealing an Uzi submachine gun and firing at houses. Khlaif and Qumsieh reportedly had planned to kill Freij. Khlaif is accused of actually planting a bomb at the entrance to Freij's house. Freij refused to comment on the incident, saying that the police did not inform him of anything.

According to the Israeli press, Khlaif also revealed that he stole a gun from the Village League headquarters and used it to fire shots at Qumsieh's house in an effort to fool the Israelis into believing that it was a PLO reprisal. The same machinegun was also used to terrorise Arab families in Beit Sahour.

Caspar Weinberger and Bishara Qumsieh embracing in the Tel Aviv Hilton.

Khlaif further reported that Bishara Qumsieh had ordered him to kill an Arab policeman and an Israeli police officer. Israeli daily *Ma'ariv*, which reported the story, said that no reasons were given for the planned attack on the policeman. The paper pointed out, however, that Qumsieh used his leverage with the Israeli authorities to eliminate his opponents.

Shortly after his arrest, Khlaif escaped from the Azzariyeh police station, apparently assisted by some policemen.

The Israeli 'civil administration' refused to comment on the case saying the matter was in the hands of the police.

Village League heads in the West Bank have reportedly expressed concern that the Qumsieh affair might lead to banning the Leagues altogether.

The Village Leagues were established under the patronage of Israeli authorities in 1977 as possible political boosters for the Camp David 'autonomy' scheme. The Leagues, armed and financed by Israel, failed to draw any public support and incurred the criticism of the liberal Israeli press. Israeli military authorities gradually dropped their support of the seven Leagues and by the beginning of 1984 they virtually disappeared.

Palestinian Lawyer Urges Scrutiny of Israeli Legal Abuses

Jerusalem attorney Jonathan Kuttab told an audience of Ramallah health services unionists June 23 that the residents in the occupied territories should "know the law" and question Israeli abuses and illegal practices.

Contrary to the popular conception that the Israeli military authorities wield "absolute power," Kuttab reminded listeners that the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Conventions protect the individual and the occupied population from any government or authority, "no matter what." Kuttab, who is co-director of the Ramallah human rights society Law in the Service of Man, said that the prinicipie of the rule of law impels governments and military rulers to adhere at least to their own laws.

Speaking on the topic of the right of assembly, the Palestinian lawyer, who is also a member of the Israeli Bar Association, said that this right combines private rights, traditionally advocated by the West, with the collective rights valued by the East.

The 20th clause in the UN Human Rights Declaration guarantees the right of assembly in peaceful organisations as well as the right not to join any organisation. The US-trained lawyer pointed out that Israel has refused some 200 applications for cooperative societies in the West Bank while forcing many people, especially villagers, to join the collaborationist Village Leagues against their will. Kuttab also said that the occupation authorities force unions, cooperatives and charitable institutions to submit for military approval the names of candidates for executive posts.

Armenian Injured in Intra-Communal Violence

An Armenian resident of Jerusalem was injured by unknown assailants in a car which tried to run him down outside the police station at Jaffa Gate June 23. Varoujan Diradourian, 44, a jeweller, suffered a broken leg as a result of the hit-and-run attack. He claims that the assault is a result of an ongoing struggle inside the Armenian community.

Police said that they later discovered the car which had hit Diradourian, said to be a stolen Israeli army car.

Armenian sources close to the patriarchate told *Al Fajr* that the police are playing a dirty role in the case. They blame the police for failing to protect the Armenian jeweller. Diradourian requested protection June 20 when three hooligans tried to beat him up. He escaped unharmed. He received a police escort to and from work until the morning of June 24, when the assigned officer did not arrive to escort him. As he walked outside the Kishleh prison and police headquarters, the car ran over Diradourian and took off. When asked, the assigned policeman said he had been "too tired" to accompany Diradourian that morning. "Apparently the hired hit men were assured that police would not interfere," one source told *Al Fajr*.

Sources in the Armenian patriarchate were also angered by news coverage by the Israeli media. Israeli television and radio broadcasts apparently confused the jeweller Diradourian with Patriarch Yegashe Derderian. They said that the attempt was made on the Armenian Patriarch.

Friction inside the Armenian convent has taken a violent turn since last February. Reliable sources told *Al Fajr* that Armenian clergymen are trying to bring the community into a power struggle going on inside the convent.

Armenian Archbishop and strongman Shahe Ajamian was dismissed from his post as second man to the Patriarch in 1982 by the unanimous decision of the St James Convent. Ajamian is known for his close ties with Israeli circles. His replacement, Archbishop Karakian Kazanjian, has been having a hard time with the Israeli officials. The Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Interior deny Kazanjian a residence visa despite his having been chosen as a priest for life to serve in the Jerusalem convent.

CALENDER OF EVENTS

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June 29, 30, 31

Music - The Silver Stones Band will present an evening of music and entertainment, 8:30 pm

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WEEKLY REVIEW

The house of Soraya Gheith destroyed by the militant settlers from Birkat Avraham Yeshiva in the old city of Jerusalem June 24, 1984. /AO photo

June 20, 1984

A JEWISH TUNNEL UNDERNEATH AN ARAB RESIDENT'S HOUSE

Al-Hajjah Soraya Gheith discovered a tunnel dug by settlers of the militant Barakat Avraham *yeshiva* leading to her house at Bab as-Silsilah quarter in the Old City.

JAIL SENTENCES FOR NINE WEST BANKERS

Nablus military court sentenced six young people from Qalqilya, aged 24 to 26, to jail terms ranging between 3 and 25 years. Following are the names of the group: Abdul-Rahman Hashim Nufal, sentenced to 25 years on 18 counts; Walid Abd Allah Nufal, 15 years; Sa'id Abd al-Karim Zeid, 5 years; Mustafa Mohammed al-Baz , 12 years; Faysal Hasan Zeid, 8 years; Isa Abd Allah Zeid, 4 years; Mahmoud Mohammed al-Baz , 1 1/2 years; Kamal Rashid Abu ar-Rubb, 1 1/2 years for throwing a Molotov cocktail at a collaborator in a Qabatyah cafe in 1982; Jamal Abd ar-Rahim Shalabi from Tulkarm refugee camp to three years on charges of throwing a Molotov cocktail at an Israeli vehicle; Tareq Fayez Nayef Ghawadreh, 18, a resident of Bir al-Basha, Jenin district, to three-and-a -half years in prison and two-and-a-half years suspended on charges of throwing a Molotov cocktail; Nablus military court sentenced Subhi Abd Allah Salameh from Nur Shams refugee camp in Tulkarm, to three years in prison on charges of membership in an illegal organisation. Nablus military court sentenced Omar Suleiman Mohammed Sabaghneh, from Qabatya, Jenin, to one-and-a-half years suspended and a fine of IS75,000 on charges of participating in a demonstration.

FIVE YOUTHS SENTENCED TO JAIL AND FINES

Ra'id Ahmad Khaled and Salem Lutfi al-Qutouni, from Ain Beit al-Ma' refugee camp, were sentenced to three months; Husain al-Hallaq and Mahmoud Hijleh Qatouni to four months; Khaled an-Namrouti to one month; and fines ranging form IS25 to 30,000 for charges of incitement and demonstration.

NURSING COLLEGE IN ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY

The board of trustees of the Islamic University in Gaza approved a plan to establish a nursing college for 60 students.

CONFESSION TAKEN BY TORTURE DISQUALIFIED

The High Court of Justice in Jerusalem disqualified confessions by three detainees ruling torture was used to obtain them. The petition was submitted to the High Court of Justice by Advocate Felicia Langer on behalf of Kais Awais, Mohammed Hinni and Nidal Rabh from the village of Halhoul. The petiton had asked the court to issue an injunction preventing the military governor and the prison warden of Fara'a detention camp from torturing detainees and obtaining confessions under duress.

FINE FOR CARRYING BOOKS

Ishaq Munaserah received a IS10,000 fine and two months suspended sentence was imposed by the military court in Hebron for carrying books that were to be sent to a book fair in Hebron.

June 21, 1984

IMPRISONMENT FOR YA'BAD YOUTHS

The military court in Nablus sentenced three youths from Ya'bad to prison on charges of membership in 'illegal' organisation.

Saleh Kilani was sentenced to 12 months in prison plus 18 months suspended. Zuheir Hilmi al-Berri was sentenced to 10 months in prison plus 20 months suspended and Hamad Salim Kilani was sentenced to 10 months in prison plus 26 months suspended on charges of recruiting others to join the PLO.

JAIL SENTENCES

The military court in Ramallah sentenced four Palestinians from Mazra'a al Sharqia to prison terms on charges of membership in an 'illegal' organisation, possession of weapons and throwing Molotov cocktails. The four are Tawfiq Abd Rahman Shatara, six years in prison plus four years suspended; Zuheir Abd al-Hafez Zein, three-and-a-half years in prison plus one-and-a-half years suspended; Naf'i Shehadeh Zein, four years in prison plus two years suspended and Maher Khaled Zein, four years in prison plus two years suspended.

The four were represented by advocates Lea Tsemel and Jawad Boulos.

VILLAGE LEAGUERS IN JAIL

The Israeli police detained yesterday Bisharah Qumsieh, deputy head of the frozen Village League association in the West Bank. The police also detained Qumsieh's four sons, Samir, head of Bethlehem Village league, Samer, Yasir and Tayseer. They were charged with disturbing public order and committing other criminal acts in Beit Sahur and Bethlehem. Police sources disclosed that Bisharah Qumsieh is suspected of planning an attempt on the life of Elias Friej, the mayor of Bethlehem. His son Samir is suspected of burning a number of cars in Beit Sahur about a month ago.

550 POWs IN ANSAR

International Red Cross sources stated that there are 550 detainees in Ansar camp.

QABATYAH RESIDENT CONDEMNED 5 YEARS

Nablus Israeli military court sentenced Hasan Zakarneh from Qabatyah, Jenin district, to two-and-a-half years in prison and two-and-a-half years suspended, on charges of throwing stones at Israeli vehicles.

June 22,1984

AMNESTY FOR JEWISH TERRORISTS

Israeli Premier Yitzhak Shamir is reported to have said in reply to a question whether he would issue a general amnesty for Jewish terrorists charged with anti-Palestinian violence, "everything is possible."

POPULAR APPEAL TO PLO LEADERS

Palestinian institutions in the West Bank sent telegrams to PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and to the Palestinian leaders meeting in Aden to expend every effort to achieve unity and come out of Aden meeting with positive results aimed at solidifying the PLO and the people's unity. The telegrams were signed by national figures representing municipal councils, chambers of commerce, universities, journalists, youth committees, workers and vocational unions, charitable societies, student councils and employees' unions at universities in the West Bank.

DEMOLITION ORDERS FOR 17 HOMES

The Israeli town planning department in the West Bank notified 17 residents of Sur Baher that their houses are to be demolished within 15 days for being constructed without licences. The houses, located in the Wadi al-Hummus area, were built during the last five years.

The owners of the houses cabled the Israeli president, the Israeli prime minister, the defence minister, and the coordinator of the territories affairs to intervene and cancel the demolition orders.

LIVESTOCK THIEVES IN NABLUS

Four thieves attacked 75-year-old Abd-allah Hasan Othman Shuli from Asirah al-Shamalliya and stole eleven sheep. The thieves blindfolded, gagged and tied the hands of the owner before leaving.

DETENTION

Israeli military authorities detained Hassan Issa Shweikat, 15, a student from Bethlehem. No reasons were given for his detention. Musa Abu Hilal from the village of Abu Dis was arrested at the Allenby bridge entry point.

JENIN ELECTRICITY TIED TO ISRAELI GRID

A decision to hook the town of Jenin to the Israeli electric company was taken recently. Work on cable installations has already begun.

June 23, 1984

GAZA PRISONERS PROTEST

Prison authorities in Gaza used tear gas to disperse a protest gathering by prisoners. A prison authority source denied reports that the Red Cross representative was denied access to the prisoners who declared a hunger strike There are reports that food r tions have been reduced.

CATTLE FARM DEMOLISHED

Israeli military authorities demolished a cattle farm belonging to agricultural engineer Mohammed Hassan Rifa'i in Anata, north of Jerusalem, on the pretext that it was unlicenced and located near an Israeli settlement. The farm was established in 1970 on land owned by the engineer who says his farm was registered with the health and agriculture ministries.

PROGRESSIVE LIST FOR PEACE PROTESTS BANNING

NAZARETH — More than 500 people took part in a protest rally held in Nazareth to protest the banning of the Arab-Jewish Knesset list. Participants strongly denounced the banning of the list as an undemocratic measure and vowed to continue the struggle for equality between Arabs and Jews, and to establish an independent Palestinian state.

AL-HAKAWATI TO BELGRADE

Al-Hakawati theatre troupe received an invitation to participate in the Interntional Theatre Festival scheduled to be held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia in September.

The troupe participated in a number of international festivals between 1980 and 1983, among them the Fifth Theatre Festival in Poland in 1981, and the Carthage Festival in Tunis in 1980 and 1982.

June 24, 1984

SECRET PALESTINIAN-JEWISH MEETING IN VIENNA

Meetings are being arranged between representatives of Palestinian communities in Europe and European Jewish sympathisers in Vienna.

The meetings, in which the PLO is not represented, are taking place in complete secrecy.

QUMSIEH AND SONS INVESTIGATED

The Israeli police are investigating 72 criminal offences committed by Bishara Qumsieh, head of the Village League in Bethlehem, and his sons. Bishara is being questioned in connection with two murder cases.

136 EX-ANSAR PRISONERS HELD IN ISRAEL

Amnesty International confirmed in a report published in Paris that the Israeli authorities are still holding 136 Lebanese and Palestinians in secret military confinement after they had been separated from the prisoners of Ansar camp who were released last November.

The report stated that these detainees are held at the Atlit military prison in the occupied territories. They are forbidden from contacting either their families or other international human organisations.

The report said that Israel rejected the Red Cross request to determine the status of these detainees.

HEBRON STUDENT IMPRISONED

The Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced secondary school *(tawjihi)* student Imad Majed Talab Amer, from Hebron, to four months in prison for hurling a stone at the headquarters of the Village League in Hebron.

June 25, 1984

JUNE SALARIES DELAYED

Educational sources report that Palestinian employees in the West Bank will receive their salaries after the religious feast of *Id al-Fitr*. The sources attributed the cause of the delay to the strike of Israeli employees in the West Bank.

GIFTS TO FAMILIES OF DETAINEES

Palestinian Women's Committee and the Voluntary Work Committee distributed gifts and clothes to the families of detainees and needy in the village of Idna in the Hebron district.

UNEMPLOYMENT FOR GRADS IN TULKARM

The director of the education office in Tulkarm stated that he did not get Israeli military authority approval to fill vacancies for the coming scholastic year. Consequently, he said, the ability to absorb new graduates will be limited.

11 TEACHERS' COLLEGE STUDENTS RELEASED

Eleven students from the Teachers' Training College in Ramallah were released from detention on bail of JD2200. The released are Isam Naim, Majdi Abu Jazar, Mohammed al-Wahidi, Walid al-Titi, Jaser Sharif, Mahmoud Nemer Odeh, Ismail Abu Su'deh, Abd al-Rahman Jawabreh, Khaled al-Khadour and Omar Bunat.

All were detained by the authorities last week for holding a sit-in to protest against the comprehensive exam in the Teachers' College in Ramallah.

SANITARY SITUATION DANGEROUS IN HEBRON DISTRICT

A report handed to the Israeli authorities stressed that the sanitary situation in Hebron district villages extending from al-Fawar refugee camp through the villages of Tarama, al-Asja, Raboud and all the villages in the southern area including Zakiah and Deir Razeh poses a grave health danger threatening the lives of about 30,000 residents.

Shufat Youth Centre honours the visitors of the ruling Swedish Socialist Party delegation June 22, 1984/AO photo

June 26, 1984

TRAVEL BAN ON JERICHO LIFTED

JERICHO — The Israeli authorities lifted the travel ban imposed weeks ago on Jericho residents to Jordan.

JAILED FOR DEMOS

Military court in Tulkarm sentenced Omar Madhat, Mohammed Khader and Shaher Bin al-Lahham from Deir al-Ghusun village, north of Tulkarm, to four months in prison and two years suspended on charges of demonstrating. Each was also fined IS50,000.

DEMOLITION PREFERRED

Israeli military authorities summoned the *mukhtars* of Sur Baher village, near Jerusalem, to military headquarters in Beit-El to inform them that the authorities will go ahead with the demolition of 17 houses east of Sur Baher. The officer in charge of planning rejected an alternative solution whereby the proposed highway would pass through the owners land rather than their houses.

YOUTHS SENTENCED

Military court in Nablus sentenced Saleh Mohammed Amin Saleh to two-and-a-half years in prison and two-and-a-half years suspended, and Yusuf Salem Abu Ya'qoub to one-and-a-half years in prison and one-and-a-half years suspended, for membership in illegal organisations.

TIRES SLASHED IN BETHLEHEM

Unknown persons slashed the tires of seven cars at al-Qanatir quarter in Bethlehem.

A bazaar sponsored by a unit of Boy Scouts from Beit El-Maqdis (one of Jerusalem's ancient Islamic names) at the East Jerusalem Chambre of Commerce. /AO photo

continued from page 6

Shooting Camels

row of rocks he can put his sheep to pasture and from that point on is the grazing area of his neighbour from another tribe. Everything is ordered, divided and well-known to everyone who is living in these territories.

In this place live two mutually exclusive conceptions of space: the Beduin's and the Arab villager's conception, and that of the settler. In such an encounter there are compromises. This comes at the price of that. A chief of one of the Beduin tribes who used to shepherd in the eastern section of the Ramallah Sub-District, told me that it doesn't matter to him who walks through pasture land: army, settlers or another Beduin tribe. "This is a matter of existence, not of politics," he emphasized. To an urban person, it is difficult, if not impossible, to explain that these rocks standing in his way are meadows, the source of livelihood of his new neighbours. The settler's response will usually be: "These are state lands. He — the Beduin — is prohibited to be here at all."

These formalities, even if correct from a legal perspective, don't take into account the existential need that is stronger than any law or definition. The camels of that Beduin from the area of Kfar Adumim didn't know that they were stepping on state land, just as their owner is not prepared to recognise this definition. The camels' killer thinks he is living in an area empty of humans; the needs of his neighbour are not a matter that requires his understanding.

The kiling of the camels could be referred to as a normal conflict between neighbours, a criminal act that is usually taken care of by the police. However, the horrible case that occurred on the background of different worldviews is nourished also by a clear political ideology that states: "What belongs to you cannot also belong to your fellow." Luckily enough, we define what belongs to us and what doesn't belong to others. In order to bring saying and doing together, it is permissible to shoot at camels that don't recognise this law. When it comes to law, another curious question arises: Will the nobilities of Kfar Adumim go to make a *sulha* with the Beduin tribe, if only to save their member from a state court? Will they, as a matter of convenience, this time use desert law — that law that brought the camels to the hothouse? Or perhaps they will continue to adhere to the law that brought the Kfar Adumim residents to the land, a law that invented the term 'state lands' and a law that might put their member in prison? (Translation: Ha Aretz, June 6,1984, Zvi Barel)

Where have all those tour guides gone... underground to Palestine may be their only route. The Israeli authorities have squeezed, restricted, discouraged and disqualified most of the 300 Palestinian guides that once showed tourists around their country, as Sami Aboudi discovered for *Al Fajr*.

PALESTINIAN TOUR GUIDES - LOSING GROUND TO ISRAELI MONOPOLY

Before he enrolled in the college of business administration at Yarmouk University in Jordan in 1980, Jerusalemite Jihad Rabadi, 22, had applied for the Israeli ministry of tourism's licencing course in tour guiding. Like many other Palestinians, he was turned down on the pretext that he did not speak Hebrew fluently enough.

Lack of fluency in Hebrew and of a security clearance are two major reasons for not qualifying for acceptance in the Israeli ministry-sponsored tour guide courses offered annually at the Hebrew University in West Jerusalem. Applicants must also pass verbal and written 'psychotechnic' tests. These tests examine knowledge of a wide variety of fields, from academic, historical and scientific subjects to individual ability in organising and entertaining tourists. Samir Bahbah, an office employee of the Near East Tourist Agency, passed the Hebrew language test and the verbal psychotechnic test but failed the written exam. Bahbah asked for but was not permitted to see his test results.

territories have been granted licences since then. One of the three was Louisa Hazboun, a guide with indisputable credentials: she is considered one of the leading experts on Christian historical sites and is fluent in at least five languages.

Mohammed Sayyad, a Jerusalemite, was given a class B licence, which restricts him to tours in the West Bank. Holders of a general class A licence are authorised to lead tours throughout Palestine (the West Bank, Gaza and post-1948 Israel). There is a third category for pre-1967 Jordanian licenced guides, who are permitted only to lead tours in al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem.

According to the records of the Arab Guides Union in Arab East Jerusalem (AGU), Palestinian guides are in danger of extinction. There are a total of 99 Arab tourist guides today, many are close to retirement age and only 42 have class A licences. In contrast, nearly 3000 Israelis lead tours of pilgrims and vacationers and all are granted the important class A licence. One tourist

Left: Tourists at the eighth station. "Jewish guides simply cannot give (Christian) tourists the history of a certain place from their religious perspective. Below: A Palestinian tourist agency/AO photo

Neither Bahbah nor Rabadi are convinced by the Israeli ministry's reasons for disqualifying them. They believe that they were deliberately denied the right to study tour guiding because of a hidden Israeli policy to prevent Palestinians from Jerusalem and the West Bank from entering this profession. The two young Palestinians argued that they possess the necessary preliminary qualification, "like any Israeli, if not better," to become tourist guides. Jihad, who grew up in the tour guide business, is trilingual — Arabic, English and French — and speaks Hebrew fairly well. His father, Sari Rabadi, a veteran guide who now heads the Arab Guides Union in East Jerusalem, has trained his son since childhood in the art of conducting tours. Samir Bahbah has worked in tourist agencies for more than 12 years and has excellent knowledge of German, English and Hebrew, in addition to Arabic.

The Israeli ministry of tourism bestowed licences on 55 of the 300 working tourist guides in 1973, but only three Palestinians from the occupied

guide told *Al Fajr* that the youngest licenced tourist guide is 35-years-old and new people are discouraged from entering the field. The Israeli authorities 'permit' the nine tourist guides licenced by the Jordanian government to lead guides at the Muslim shrines of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem's Old City because in fact they have no civil domain over the *waqf*-administered religious site.

Shut out from Hebrew University courses, Palestinians are also prohibited from developing vocational programmes at West Bank universities. Bethlehem University planned to open a school for tour guides alongside its school of hotel management but was not given a permit by the military authorities. Mousa Darwish, public relations director at the university, told *Al Fajr* that the university applied three times but the authorities simply never answered the request and the university finally gave up the idea. Similarily, a petition by Bir Zeit University was turned down.

Tourism is regarded as the backbone of the Palestinian economy in at

Jihad Rabadi: Hammering away at Israeli excuses.

least three main West Bank cities: Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Jericho. The tourism sector is more than 80 percent of the total economy of the three cities. Tourists on travel packages organised by Arab agents have accommodations in East Jerusalem hotels and discounts from Arab souvenir shops.

The Israeli concern to limit tourists' contact with Palestinians arises from political considerations. The image-conscious Israelis consider tourist services to be a vital propaganda field which must be under Israeli monopoly. The Israeli government's stand was spelled out clearly by Moshe Sharon, Arab affairs adviser, when Menachem Begin was prime minister, who wrote in *The Jerusalem Post* (June 14, 1983) that Arab tourist guides are in the best position to spread propaganda and therefore must be "neutralised."

This policy came into effect long before Moshe Sharon's *"The Propaganda War"* was written. Palestinian tourist guides are barred from discussing 'political subjects' with tourists and are liable to punishment if they answer questions deemed 'political.' A guide who works with the Terra Sancta Travel Agency had his licence revoked for six months. Not until other influential Arab guides intervened did he retrieve his licence. Other guides have been summoned for questioning and reprimanded for similar charges.

Arab guides find themselves caught between satisfying a tourist's natural curiosity and steering clear of the Israeli government's obsession with controlling information.

Discrimination from Occupation Day 1

When the chaos of Israeli military occupation of the West Bank in 1967 settled into grim routine, Palestinian tour guides attempted to continue to work as they had done under Jordan. But increasingly the Israeli authorities intervened. In the early 1970s, the Israeli ministry of tourism tried to ban Palestinian tourist guides who were carrying Jordanian licences from leading tours anywhere in the country. When the Arab Tourist Guides Union decided to challenge the decision in court, the ministry of tourism agreed to allow Arab tourist guides the opportuity to work — but with restrictions. Abd al-Qader Joudeh, secretary-general of the AGU, recalled that then-Israeli Minister of Tourism Moshe Kohl opened a special one-time course on tourist attractions in Israel for Arab tourist guides to qualify for licences. A seven-month course was organised for Arab guides in 1972. The few Arab tour guides who received their licences at that time recall that the Israeli minister was later criticised in Knesset for licencing Arab guides.

Not only are Arab tourist guides becoming a vanishing breed, but their employers, the family-owned Arab tourist agencies, are also losing ground to the control of the strong Israeli Tourist Guides Union. Mu'in Ardaji said Arab travel agents in East Jerusalem are becoming increasingly dependent on Israeli tourist guides to lead their groups. Francois Albina, owner of Albina Tours in Jerusalem and secretary of the Jordanian Society for Tourist and Travel Agents, said that some tourist pilgrim groups with a special Christian orientation prefer to be led by Christian guides. He explained that Jewish guides simply cannot give tourists the history of a certain place from their religious perspective.

"How could a Jewish guide, with all the religious contradictions between his religion and Christianity, sincerely describe the life of Jesus?" he asked. He also pointed out that some historical sites are viewed differently by Arab and Israeli guides. Christian pilgrims, for instance, are more interested in the ruins of a monastery which once stood on the cliff at Masada (near the Dead Sea) than in the story of the Jewish zealots' mass suicide.

Garo Garabedian, owner of the George Garabedian Travel Agency, added that the same thing applies with Muslim shrines and historic sites.

The AGU, which is recognised only by the Jordanian authorities and has no official status with the Israeli ministry of tourism, estimates that at least 250 additional guides can easily be absorbed by the Arab tourism sector. Israeli control of the tourism sector has adversely affected Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The Israeli authorities issued guidelines in 1978 requiring all tourist groups to be accompanied by a licenced guide. In 1981 the Israeli ministry of tourism notified tour agents that the guidelines apply to all tourist groups including pilgrims who usually arrive with their own priest tour guide. The Pastoral Commission of the Latin Patriarchate protested the decision to the Israeli ministry of religious affairs. As a result, a gentleman's agreement was reached in 1981 by which the Christian Pilgrims Commission, which organises pilgrimages for all Christian denominations, would be authorised to issue licences for priests and other Christian guides to lead pilgrimages. Fr Richard Mathes, in charge of the Notre Dame Hotel, told *Al Fajr* that while there has been no interference with Christian pilgrims, the Israeli ministry of tourism refuses to give travel agents a direct yes about the agreement. Consequently, many travel agents are still afraid to render services to pilgrim groups unless they are accompanied by a licenced guide.

Despite their deep-seated conviction that Israeli policies discriminate against them, Palestinians seeking to become guides continue efforts to overcome the many Israeli obstacles. Jihad Rabadi, who recently returned from Jordan with his business administration degree, has plans to apply again to the Israeli ministry of tourism. He has been improving and polishing his Hebrew. When asked why he wants to apply again if he is convinced he can predict a negative Israeli response, he said he wanted to hammer away at the Israeli excuses, confront every obstacle. Apparently he wanted to test the authenticity of the rumours which say that former Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Dayan once said that "it is easier for Arabs to become Israeli airforce pilots than to become tourist guides."